The UNESCO Courier

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APARTHEID

TREASURES
OF
WORLD ART
14

Speaking Hands

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). The French sculptor's reputation has steadily grown over the last half-century, although during his lifetime the universality of his work which is now generally recognised was hotly contested. Such is the variety and range of his output that the public at large is still unaware of certain aspects. The work of this "unknown Rodin" includes such small sculptures as these two right hands joined together in gentle supplication (carved stone 64 × 34 × 32 cms). For Rodin, hands were more expressive than faces. He entitled this sculpture "The Cathedral" so as to combine the idea of the couple with spiritual elevation, the supreme symbol of which was exemplified in his view by the Gothic arch.

Photo © SPADEM, Paris
Musée Rodin

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Photo © Holmès - Lebel - Ernest Cole

Cover photo

"Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality..."

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"We should not give the natives an academic education... We should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country."

Mr. J.N. Le Roux, present Minister of Agriculture of the Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly (April 2, 1945).

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APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA

The General Assembly of the United Nations has proclaimed March 21 "international Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination". In the same resolution proclaiming this International Day, which coincides with the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, the Assembly again called on States practicing racial discrimination or apartheid to comply with the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the beginning of this year, on January 18, an important Unesco report on the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information in South Africa was made public by the United Nations in New York. This report will be published in its final form in English and French in some months time.

The present issue includes passages from this document together with a series of statements on the effects of apartheid on South Africa's cultural life. These articles have been specially written for the Unesco Courier by the distinguished South African writers Alan Paton, Lewis Nkosi, Dennis Brutus, Ronald Segal and Breyten Breytenbach.

A report prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) on the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture and information in South Africa concludes that the policy of apartheid is not only an inadmissible answer to racial and group conflict but is itself the major source of racial and group conflict there.

The report, to be published later this year by Unesco in its final form, was prepared for the U.N. General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa.

In its report, Unesco terms the situation in South Africa "alarming" and outlines in detail how discrimination in the areas studied contributes to maintaining an ideology which it says is "unacceptable to the world of today."

The 259-page report was prepared by the Unesco Secretariat with the help of various consultants and is based essentially on official government publications and reports from scientific and research institutions within and outside South Africa.

DISCRIMINATORY practices at all levels of education, which keep Africans at the most menial level of society are outlined in the report. It cites legislation and regulations which require Africans to finance their own educational institutions to a very large extent through special taxation on them, which limit the range of subjects offered to them in school and which isolate South African children of different ethnic groups from each other. The report also states that the overcrowding and an insufficient number of teachers—for the most part poorly trained—add to a pattern which serves to prevent Africans, and to lesser extent coloureds and people of Asian extraction, from playing a full role in society.

While there has been an increase in the number of Africans going to school, the report states this has been achieved without a corresponding rise in expenditure. In fact, the percentage of net national income spent on African schools is decreasing, the report adds.

The increase in school attendance, the report says, has been achieved through the introduction of double sessions in the first two years of schooling, the policy of appointing women teachers who are paid a lower salary and the conversion of money earmarked for school meals for expansion of education.

The sum allocated for school meals has decreased from $1,758,960 in 1954 to $98,000 in 1966. Several surveys among African school children, conducted around 1960, revealed that 60-70 per cent were recognizably suffering from malnutrition, 50 per cent needed nursing and medical attention and almost 10 per cent required hospitalization for diseases directly or indirectly attributable to malnutrition.

The term "white" is used for people of European stock. The term "African" replaces the word "Bantu" which is at present used by the South African Government to designate people of African stock, except in direct quotations where, if the word "Bantu" was originally used, it is retained. The term "Asian" is used for people of Chinese or Indian descent, and "coloured" for those of mixed European and African or Asian background. The use in this issue of these terms white, "African," "Asian" and "coloured", has been unavoidable, because of the nature of "apartheid" itself. However, the Unesco Secretariat rejects the concepts of race and of ethnic group relations that such terms imply.

While there is no doubt that primary level education, financed by the Africans themselves, has expanded, the position has remained almost stationary at secondary and university levels, according to the report. "That Africans are being trained to 'take over' in the Reserves cannot be supported either by the numbers who graduate. . . nor by the degree of administrative responsibility. That they are not being trained to play their part in a total South African society is explicitely stated by the South African Government itself."

The education section of the report concludes: "The effects of apartheid on education go far beyond the racial discrimination that the facts and figures of this report demonstrate. The most deplorable effect is on the South African child whatever his colour. . . who in all cases is educated within the restrictions of an ideology unacceptable to the world of today."

THE report investigates the effects of apartheid on the employment of non-white scientific and technical personnel; on scientific organization; on social field research and on international scientific and technical cooperation. Among facts brought out in the survey are the following:

— There is little training available to non-whites in engineering or in agriculture where the need for non-white specialists is probably greatest in the so-called "Bantu Homelands."

— The total number of non-white doctors in 1960 was estimated at around 130. The number of doctors per head of population in that year was one in eighteen hundred in South Africa compared with one in eleven hundred in the United Kingdom and one in seven hundred and fifty in the United States. Many scientific societies have resisted government pressure to change their constitutions so as to prohibit membership to non-whites.

— The difficulty which trained non-whites experience in obtaining employment. "This lack of suitable employment opportunities undoubtedly dampens the enthusiasm of many a potential non-white scientist and may lead to mediocre performance and lack of interest in scientific training," the report states.

Besides taking up the influence of apartheid on intellectuals, both "white" and "non-white," the report also considers culture in the broader context and gives details of the difficulties encoun-

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tered by non-white South Africans faced with the official Government policy of the separation of cultures.

The report cites the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 which served to create a migratory labour force of Africans temporarily resident in urban centres but without any permanent rights. This Act, the report states, has had important effects on the African family. One of these has been the disproportionate increase in African male population in the suburbs of cities. Another has been the break-up of entire families because of government refusal to permit husbands and wives to live together.

That apartheid is compatible with Christianity has been denied by many denominations, according to the report, although a 1950 conference of the Dutch Reformed Churches, which attempted to define that church's policy towards the African, endorsed the solution of "Bantu Homelands" and recommended the replacing of the African in the European industrial system.

In the area of literature, the report points out that major works by African South African writers, writing in English, have been banned as "indecent, objectionable, or obscene," and that well-known African writers, if not under house arrest, now live outside South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA has had a long tradition of library services. The report states, however, that under the policy of maintaining separate libraries, the major libraries remain closed to non-white South Africans. In Pietermaritzburg, the European library has almost ten times the number of volumes as the branch for non-Europeans.

Sports have also been affected by apartheid. The separation of the "races" in the field of sport covers five different but related issues, the report states. These include mixed teams, inter-racial team competitions, the participation of non-white players in games played on fields of all-white districts and the composition of foreign teams visiting South Africa and mixed audiences.

Through the Group Areas Act of 1950, which was later extended to cinemas, non-whites may not be allowed to attend cinemas, theatre or opera in a "white" district without a special permit, and "whites" are not permitted to attend cinemas and other entertainments in non-white areas.

While freedom of the press is part of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, the Government may prohibit any publication which it deems serves "communism" under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. According to the Unesco report, this Act endangers freedom of information. Under its clauses, the Minister of Justice has the power to prohibit an individual from attending a particular meeting or playing any part in certain organizations and may prohibit any person from living in a given area for a period of time, as well as assigning him to a determined residence.

The Annual Survey of South African Law of 1963 states that there were 7,500 banned publications.

The report concludes that in education, science, culture and information, apartheid violates both in principle and in practice the United Nations Charter, the Constitution of Unesco, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the standards which have been set by the international community in conventions, recommendations and declarations which have been adopted within the United Nations system. Moreover, "separate development" as practised within the Republic of South Africa, does not mean equality between various ethnic groups in any of the spheres with which Unesco is concerned.

Photo © Ian Berry - Magnum

IN MEMORY OF SHARPEVILLE

MYTHS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Two myths are widely believed in South Africa: that the Dutch landed in empty territory and that the early history of white settlement was marked by the massacre of innocent whites by Africans. Early travellers had very different tales to tell: "On Sunday November 26, 1497 the fleet reached the inlet... a number of Hottentots appeared... They were very friendly"; or they "came with all friendliness to trade with us... The killing of our people is undoubtedly caused by revenge being taken by the [Africans] when their cattle is seized..."

In "Prejudice in the Classroom" (Johannesburg, 1966), Eleanor Hawarden points out that "if African peoples are presented to school children solely as engaging in unprovoked attacks on white farmers—and this is the picture which most South African textbooks and teachers present in both primary and secondary schools—then though the facts of individual attack may be correct, the total impact on the students and the picture they form of past events, is untrue. It omits the attacks by Europeans, the provocation suffered by the Africans, the loss of their lands, the courage and chivalry with which the Ama-Xhosa fought in defending their country from invasion."

Similarly, land tenure and its relationship to frontier clashes was one of the key aspects of early South African history. Yet F.E. Auerbach ("The Power of Prejudice in South African Education," Cape Town/Amsterdam, 1965) found that in the Transvaal no junior book explains it and only one senior book deals with it.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid

On March 21 1960, the crowd scatters as firing starts in Sharpeville (South Africa). A few moments after this photograph was taken, about one hundred Africans were killed and more than two hundred wounded. The police had opened fire to disperse demonstrators protesting against the law requiring non-whites to carry passes at all times. A resolution recently adopted by the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed March 21 as "International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination".

A COUNTRY DIVIDED

The following excerpts are drawn from the Unesco report on the effects of the policy of apartheid on education, science, culture and information.

SOUTH Africa, a society in which Africans, Asians and Europeans co-exist in the same territory has been the result of a long history going back to the first European settlement in the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. It is a history not only of prolonged contact (some of it friendly) between these groups of people, but also a history of conflict over land and cattle at first, then over industrial opportunities when towns grew up.

There were also conflicts between the Boers, decendants of the first Dutch settlers, and the English-speaking South African—conflicts which terminated in the Boer War and the defeat of the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners by the English colonizers.

About the mid-twentieth century, then, the ingredients of the present alarming South African situation were all present: the rivalry between the Afrikaner and the English-speaking South Africans which split the white population into two main groups, the suspicion and fear which most of the white group felt for the Africans who were numerically stronger, against whom they had fought a series of wars and whom they had traditionally treated as a source of cheap labour.

There was also the coloured group formed from a mixture of white, Hottentot and Malay elements and an Asian group brought to South Africa in the 19th century as labour for the new sugar plantations in Natal.

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The myth of 'separate development'

At the end of the second world war there was another factor on the South African scene. White supremacy, threatened occasionally over the 300 years of white settlement, was challenged by the emergence of independent states in Africa and Asia.

On the political front the struggle for independence was a struggle for one-man one-vote, and had direct consequences for South African whites, who, in framing the Constitution of 1910, had resisted any effective participation of non-whites in the political process.

There was another challenge; in all countries arose a new demand for the implementation of "Human Rights", a demand encouraged by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. In South Africa this meant a demand for equality of opportunity on the social and economic front and was thus a direct threat to white privileges.

The Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 on an appeal which rested almost entirely on its promise to safeguard and, if necessary, strengthen "white supremacy." In its public statements the Government identified this political, economic and social policy with the ideology of "apartheid" which was described in the 1947 Election Manifesto of the National Party as follows: "In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-groups in their own areas where every group will be enabled to develop into a self-sufficient unit. We endorse the general principle of territorial segregation of the Bantu and the Whites . . . the Bantu in the urban areas should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the Whites. The process of detribalisation should be arrested . . ."

FROM the beginning there were two co-existing concepts of apartheid. One was that the races should be completely segregated into self-sufficient territories. The other was that apartheid was not to mean complete territorial segregation but a more rigid enforcement of "non-white" social, economic and political inferiority. From 1948 to 1965, the South African Government moved in both directions. On December 4, 1963, the Prime minister, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, stated that ". . . we shall be able to prove that it is only by creating separate nations that discrimination will in fact disappear in the long run."

It is certain that some idealistic "white" South Africans hoped that the incipient conflict in the South African situation would be resolved by apartheid. Further, many hoped that while the political and economic aspirations of the "African" majority—and the "coloured" and "Asian" minorities—would be met by "separate development" the privileges of a "white" South Africa would be guaranteed.

The creation of Bantustans—"Black Homelands"—from the scattered reserves and the establishment of the Transkei as an example of a semi-autonomous state, are steps in this "separate development."

IT is not necessary here to go into the Government's case for independent Bantustans—or the case against it. It is sufficient to note the report of the United Nations' Special Committee on Apartheid in South Africa, September 13, 1963: "These moves are engineered by a Government in which the African people concerned have no voice and are aimed at the separation of the races and the denial of rights to the African population in six-sevenths of the territory of the Republic of South Africa in return for promises of self-government for the Africans in scattered reserves which account for one-seventh of the territory. These reserves contain less than two-fifths of the African population of the Republic, while many of the Africans in the rest of the country are largely detribalised and have little attachment to the reserves . . . The creation of Bantustans may, therefore, be regarded as designed to reinforce white supremacy in the Republic by strengthening the position of tribal chiefs, dividing the African people through the offer of opportunities for a limited number of Africans and deceiving public opinion."

One important step in any attempted separation of the races was the enforced removal of people of differing races who had lived closely together.

The Population Registration Act of 1950 with its later amendments provided for the classification of the South African population into three main groups: white, coloured and African—the Asians constituting a sub-group in the coloured group. This classification was fundamental to the whole Government policy of "separateness" for each "race".

Control of the freedom of movement of Africans has been achieved through the "Pass Laws." A system of Pass Laws was in effect before the Nationalist Party came to power; however, these laws varied from province to province. Some classes of "Africans" were exempted from carrying them, and in the Cape, while they existed in theory, they were in practice no longer required.

The Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act, 1952, repealed previous laws. Henceforth all Africans were required to possess a "reference book" which contains detailed information about the holder, including a space for efflux and influx control endorsements. Failure to produce the "reference book" on demand is a criminal offence.

Between July 1, 1963, and June 30, 1964, 162,182 Africans had been prosecuted for failing to register or to produce these documents.

The Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 and its amendments together with the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, Nº 42, provided for the compulsory residence in locations, native villages or hostels of Africans within an urban area. It regulated the entry of Africans into the areas and the place of their settlement. The presence of an African in a prescribed area for more than 72 hours is subject to severe restrictions. To take up work he must get permission from a labour bureau, and to visit the area permission must be sought from a labour officer.

SOME Africans are exempted from these restrictions; for example, those continuously resident in the area since birth (who must provide proof that they are entitled to be there.) But even Africans who qualify to remain in a prescribed area may be deemed "idle" or "undesirable" and then be ordered out of the area, forfeiting their residential rights. Moreover, there seems to be some confusion as to what the exemptions are and to whom they apply.

The Group Areas Act has been followed by a list of Group Area Declarations—setting aside areas for the exclusive occupation of one or other population group. This Act has been implemented in spite of repeated resolutions by the General Assembly.

The proclamations issued in October 1963 involved in Durban alone the eviction of nearly 10,000 families, the great majority of them Indians. In

The Extension of University Education Act 1959 proposed to replace attendance of non-whites at the universities which until then were open to all races by institutions for the different groups : Africans, Asians and coloureds, each with its own university, the Africans being further divided according to tribal origins. The Unesco report finds that "neither enrolments, nor degrees awarded, justify the statement that establishment of Ethnic Group Colleges has provided increased university facilities for non-whites." While 144 Africans obtained degrees in 1956 and 182 in 1961, there were only 105 in 1962.
Outside Durban University (right), white and African students protest against racial discrimination. This demonstration took place ten years ago ; today it would be an extremely risky undertaking. The new laws are so stringent that all participants could be arrested and detained without charge for nearly six months.

Photo © Ian Berry — Camera Press — Holmes-Lebel

1964 the declarations were designed to resettle virtually all of the 38,000 Indians on the Rand.

Ejection orders are not confined to situations in which there may be a degree—however small—of mixed residential districts; the orders were framed to force non-whites out of the town centres and to resettle them on the outskirts. Thus, the joint ministerial statement of February 1966 declared District Six—one of the oldest sections of Cape Town—which had been populated by coloured residents for over 300 years, as a "white" area. A coloured population of over 20,000 was to be forced to move.

In spite of the ideology of apartheid, in spite of the uprooting of thousands of families, the complete separation of peoples into tribal and ethnic groupings in South Africa has proved impossible. The closely integrated economic structure, the location of all the major industries, all the mineral wealth, all the important harbour facilities and all the best arable land in that part of South Africa which is outside the reserves in white ownership has meant that Africans—as well as "coloureds" and "Asians"—remain dependent on the town and farming complex of "white" South Africa for a livelihood. Even the Government's attempt to encourage African-owned small-scale industries in the Transkei has come up against the relative poverty of the area, the comparative lack of natural resources and the lack of accumulated capital.

For good or ill, "white" and "non-white" South Africa remain economically interdependent. If the non-whites need the job opportunities at present available in "white" South Africa, so white South Africa could not maintain its present industrial and agricultural production—nor the present high standard of living without non-white labour. In fact, whatever the stated policy of the Government, there has

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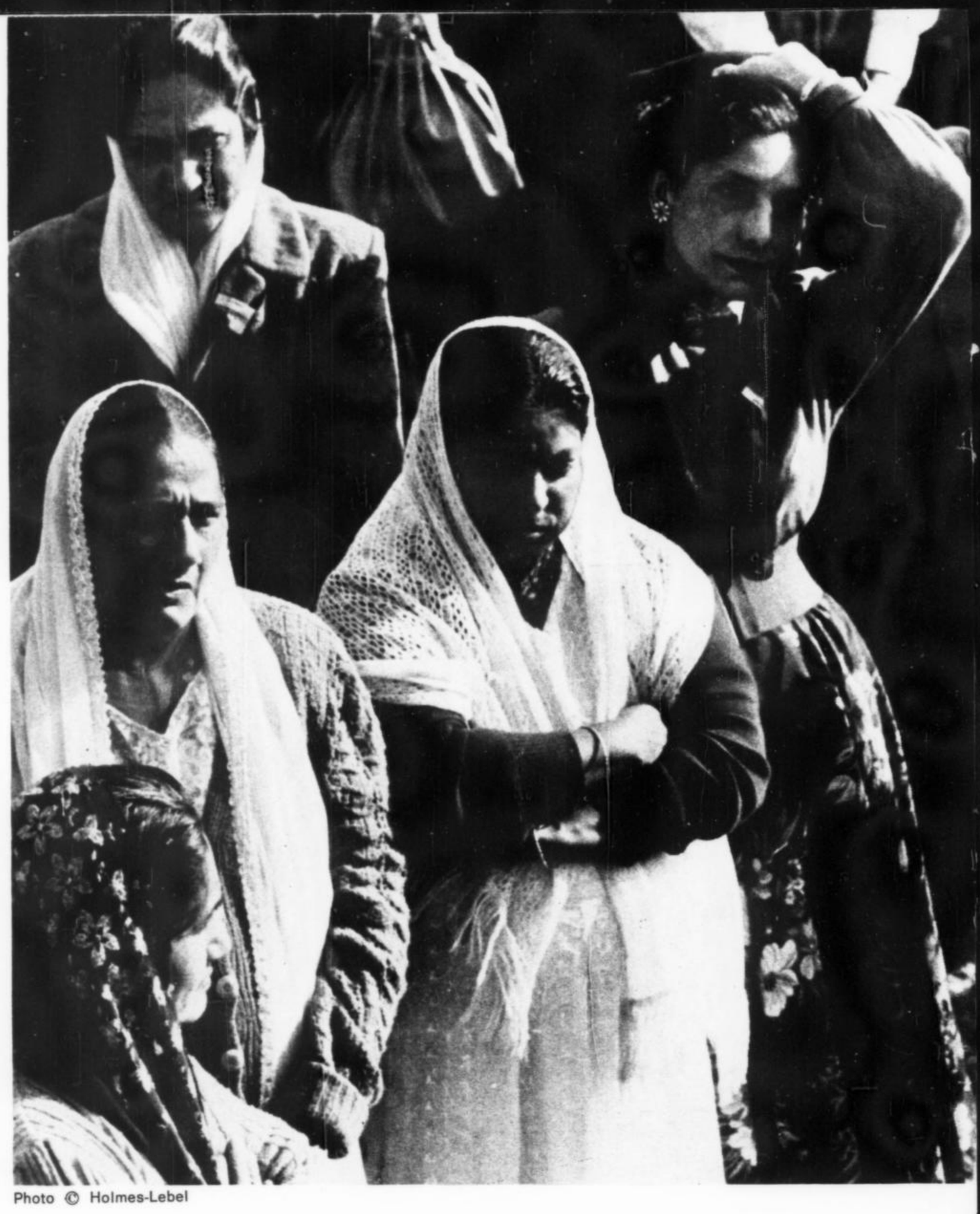
In 1961 an Indian, Dr Dorasamy Chetty, a graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand (South Africa) and the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with many years of experience on malaria eradication programmes in the Far East with the World Health Organization, was unable to obtain a post in South Africa where he could practice and teach preventive medicine. In 1962, "in terms of Government policy, a highly qualified African doctor was refused an appointment to the Livingstone Hospital for non-whites in Port Elizabeth because in his post he would have had several whites working under him" (A Survey of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1963).

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid



These Indian women (photo right), officially classified in the so-called "Asian" racial group, were forced, with their families, to leave the city and shift to the districts specifically allotted to their group. Photo far right: Johannesburg (1,100,000 inhabitants) is the largest city in South Africa and the most important industrial and commercial centre.

Photo © Holmes-Lebel

A COUNTRY DIVIDED *(Continued)*

been an increasing number of Africans admitted to urban areas.

Between 1962 and 1964 the African population of Johannesburg increased from 609,100 to 706,389; the number of African men employed in Durban increased from 74,500 in 1946 to 136,000 in 1965. In the Western Cape, the number of Africans employed by local authorities, the Provincial Administration, Public Service Departments, agriculture and industry increased from 1963 to 1964 by 7.5 % (from almost 77,000 to a little under 83,000) and increasing numbers were being recruited for employment through the labour bureaux in the Transkei.

The main push of apartheid has therefore been in the direction of more rigid racial discrimination, with growing inequalities in opportunities.

As could be expected, the policy of apartheid has given rise to opposition. There have been protests, demonstrations and riots from the non-whites, while among whites opposition to the Government's policy has ranged from criticism to more political involvement.

A minority can hardly succeed in preserving its absolute supremacy in all spheres without the use of force. It is therefore not surprising that the implementation of the policy of apartheid has been accompanied by an abuse of police power, a disregard for the integrity of the individual and censorship of the press.

The real or imagined fear of counter-violence, has led those in power to a multiplication of procedures aimed at strengthening the system of apartheid by destroying opposition.

Again and again during the post-war period, attention has been called to the situation in South Africa with regard to civil rights. One need only briefly draw attention to the 90-day detention clause in the General Law Amendment Act, 1963, which when it was withdrawn was in fact replaced by the Cri-

Number of Africans admitted to and endorsed out of the main urban areas during 1964 and the first three months of 1965

	Admitted		Endorsed out	
	Men	*Women*	*Men*	*Women*
1964	156,352	18,747	84,258	13,983
First 3 months 1965	44,409	5,133	19,159	3,855

Photo © Paul Almasy, Paris

minal Proceedure Amendment Act. Under this Act the Attorney General may issue a warrant for arrest and detention for a maximum of six months (180 days) of a person who is likely to give evidence for the State in any criminal proceedings with respect to certain offences, as long as that detention is deemed to be in the interest of such a person or of the administration of justice.

The International Commission of Jurists observed: "This must be one of the most extraordinary powers that have ever been granted outside a period of emergency. It authorizes the detention of an innocent person against whom no allegations are made and no suspicion even exists; it authorizes detention in the absolute discretion of the Attorney General. It denies the detainee access to a lawyer without special permission; and it precludes the courts from examining the validity of the detention even within the already very wide powers of the Act.

"It further authorizes the subjection of the detained witness to solitary confinement for a period of six months and, with the object, inter alia of excluding, 'tampering with or intimidation' of any person, places him in a situation where he is in the almost uncontrolled power of the police who also have an interest in the evidence he may give."

There are, too, the peculiar techniques of banishing, or listing persons, and of banning.

Banishment is an action which can be taken against Africans. The Native Administration Act empowers the State President, whenever he deems it expedient in the public interest, without notice to order any tribe, portion of tribe or individual African to move to any stated place. Banishment has been used, i.a, to remove from the reserves persons who have been active opponents of chiefs or of certain Government measures.

In addition, emergency regulations for the Transkei provide that any person suspected of committing an offence under the regulations of any law, or of intending to do so, or of possessing information about an offence may be arrested without warrant and held in custody until the police or prison authorities are satisfied that they have fully and truthfully answered all relevant questions put to them. The offences include: holding a meeting of more than ten Africans unless with special permission (church services and funerals are exempted), making any statement or performing any action likely to have the effect of interfering with the authority of the State, one of its officials, or a chief or headman, or boycotting an official meeting.

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Salary of Africans: one-seventh that of whites

The person held in custody under these regulations may not consult a legal adviser without the consent of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

Between January and April 1966, a total of sixty-two Transkeians were detained by the South African authorities.

Under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, amended in 1962, a person might be listed as member or active supporter of the Communist Party of South Africa (banned in 1950) or of any other organizations deemed unlawful (as the African National Congress, the Pan-African Congress and the African Resistance Movement.) In 1962 a list of 437 names of persons, 129 whites and 308 non-whites, was published in the Gazette. At a later date some were removed from the list; others were added. The publication of the names is merely for public information, having no direct legal consequences.

However, the Minister of Justice is empowered to take certain actions against a listed person. It should be mentioned that the same actions might be directed against certain other categories, too, as persons convicted of actions deemed to have furthered the aims of Communism. Banning orders of the most varying character might be served. Thus, a person might be prohibited from becoming or being a member of specified organizations or organizations of a specified nature.

Further, a person may be prohibited from attending gatherings of any kind, including social gatherings. Bans prohibiting persons from attending gatherings are rather frequent. With certain exceptions it is an offence to record, publish, or disseminate any speech, utterance or writing made anywhere at any time by a person under such ban.

In addition a banning order may imply that the person concerned is prohibited from absenting himself from any stated place or area, may be confined to a town or a suburb, may be confined to house arrest for a certain number of hours, and on public holidays. It is sometimes required that the person shall remain at home for 24 hours each day.

The publication of particulars in the Gazette contains the date of delivery of notice and the date on which notice expires. The period varies, often it is one or two years, and sometimes five years.

At the beginning of 1964, 257 persons were subject to restrictions under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The United Nations Special Committee on the policy of Apartheid in the Republic of South Africa gave the number of persons "banned" as approximately 600 in 1966.

While Unesco is not directly concerned with the economic and political aspects of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa, the policy of apartheid has consequences for education, science, culture and the dissemination of information—consequences which follow logically from the philosophical concept of man as conceived of by the ideology of "apartheid", from the economic inequalities which the policy creates and reinforces, and from the political situation which severely curtails freedom for all South Africans, and in particular for the non-white South Africans who form the majority of the country's population.

IN conformity with the ideal of "separateness," Africans, Asians, coloured and whites are educated as independent groups within the population, the "separateness" emphasized by the administrative structure of education, by methods of finance, by differences in syllabuses, and by different levels of achievement deliberately imposed to fit in with different expectations in employment. Ultimately education is geared for the effective preparation of the Africans for their future occupations as unskilled labourers. Higher training is intended only for the small number of persons who can be employed in skilled work in African "homelands" or African "development schemes."

The result of racial discrimination in education and in the pattern of employment is seen clearly in the field of science. South Africa is facing a chronic shortage of top-level manpower in science and technology as well as in management. The shortage cannot be remedied by relying on the white population alone. Moreover, the general repressive atmosphere is inimical to the development of a spirit of free enquiry and has led to the loss to South Africa of some scientists of great eminence, particularly in the field of the social sciences. The political atmosphere has also affected recruitment of staff, particularly from universities in the United Kingdom.

"Separate development" in the field of culture has reduced to a minimum all contacts between whites and non-whites that are not purely of an economic nature. As in all other fields, "separate development" is in fact synonymous with "inequality of access", but moreover, cultural apartness, as opposed to cultural interaction for which Unesco stands, has limited the creative possibilities of all South Africans.

	Africans	Coloured	Asians	Whites
Distribution of South African population according to racial groups	12,162,000	1,742,000	533,000	3,395,000
Income per capita 1960	87 Rands (1)	109 Rands	147 Rands	952 Rands
Average salaries in mining, 1963	152 »	458 »	458 »	2,562 »
Average salaries in manufacturing, 1963	422 »	660 »	660 »	2,058 »
Public Service, 1963	346 »	603 »	884 »	1,694 »
Maximum old age pension rates (per annum)	44.40 »	City: 168 » Non-City: 138 »	City: 168 » Non-City: 138 »	360 »
Infant mortality rates. Number of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births 1963	no figures given	126.9	44.7	29.0
Percentage increase or decrease of T.B. rates in 1963 over 1962—children under 5 years	plus 20.3	plus 7.5	minus 16.8	minus 7.0

(1) 1 South African Rand = $ 1.40

That policy cannot be separated from principle is illustrated by the fact that, whilst the South African Government in its statements continues to uphold the right to freedom of information, the need to enforce the policy of apartheid has affected the relevant legislation and its application, the actions taken denying in fact the principle of freedom of information.

Apartheid is not only not an admissible answer to racial and group conflict but is itself the major source of this conflict. This is most serious in relationships between whites and non-whites, but the very heightening of group awareness, which is part of the aims of the apartheid system, should per se intensify hostilities between Afrikaner and English-speaking South Africa, and, by the separation of Africans into self-contained tribal units, create a tribal nationalism leading to increased inter-tribal rivalry.

The image of man—to whatever ethnic group he belongs or is made a part of—which results from the policy of apartheid in South Africa, is an image which is clearly the opposite of the one to which the community of nations is ethically and legally dedicated.

THE ill effects of apartheid are not confined to the situation within South Africa; "the practice of apartheid and all other forms of racial discrimination constitute a threat to international peace and security and are a crime against humanity," as stated in the Resolution on "Unesco's tasks in the light of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 20th session on questions relating to the liquidation of colonialism and racialism," which was adopted by the General Conference at its 14th session (Nov. 1966).

The Secretary-General of the United Nations emphasized in an address on February 3, 1964: "There is the clear prospect that racial conflict, if we cannot curb and finally eliminate it, will grow into a destructive monster compared to which the religious or ideological conflicts of the past and present will seem like small family quarrels . . . This, for the sake of all our children, whatever their race and colour, must not be permitted to happen."

The group of experts, established by the Security Council Resolution of December 4, 1963, warned that "a race conflict starting in South Africa must affect race relations elsewhere in the world, and also, in its international repercussions, create a world danger of first magnitude."

Photo © Ernest Cole - Camera Press - Holmes-Lebel

THE INVISIBLE WALL. That the informal and personal contacts between people and private entertaining are important in the ordinary daily living together of any people no-one will deny. The extent to which they can take place in South Africa is limited by the regulations governing eating together outside of the home, staying overnight in named areas or in getting permission to visit "locations". It would be impossible for a racially mixed group of South Africans to have tea or coffee together in any public place in the Republic. Besides this, the whole atmosphere of mistrust between people, the basic suppositions of the superiority and inferiority of racial groups, the difficult political problems, the suspicion that Government-paid informers exist make meaningful human relationships not only across colour groups, but within groups themselves, difficult to maintain. As long as the present situation continues, one thing is certain—South African culture (for whites and non-whites) will become increasingly less creative.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid

Since 1964, the presence of an African in a "white" district for more than 72 hours has been severely restricted. Wives and children of Africans working in these districts may not live with their husbands or fathers unless they have resided continuously in the same district previously. Visits between husbands and wives residing in separate districts are limited to a maximum of 72 hours unless otherwise authorised.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid

THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON CULTURE

The price of segregation

by Alan Paton

ALAN PATON *was born in 1903 in the province of Natal, South Africa. His famous novel "Cry, the Beloved Country" (1948), which was translated into 18 languages and published in 22 countries, earned him world-wide renown. An opera, "Lost in the Stars", and a film were based on this book which gives a moving account of the conflicts and crises arising from racial segregation in South Africa. Paton's second novel, "Too Late the Phalarope" deals with the attitudes of the Afrikaners. All his books, some fifteen novels and studies, have been published outside South Africa, in England or the United States. They include "South Africa and her People" (1957), "The Christian Approach to Racial Problems in the Modern World" (1959), "Hope for South Africa" (1959), "Tales from a Troubled Land" (1961) and "South African Tragedy; the Life and Times of Jan Hofmeyr" (1965). Alan Paton was among those who formed the Liberal Association of South Africa which became the Liberal Party of which he is President. The Liberal Party rejects the racial theories used to justify white supremacy and aims at equal rights for all South Africans regardless of their ethnic groups.*

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THE policy of apartheid, or Separate Development as it is now more grandly called, has as one of its main aims the preservation of the cultures of each of the racial groups in South Africa, the safeguarding of each culture from contamination by the others, and presumably the development of each of these cultures "along its own lines". Apartheid has no vision whatsoever of a South African culture, enriched by contributions from its Afrikaners, its Africans, its Coloured people (that is, those of mixed blood, Malay, Hottentot, and European strains

amongst others), its white English-speaking people, its Hindus and Muslims and Jews. These streams must not flow into a river, they must not even flow into the sea, they must flow parallel to one another for ever and ever.

Nor does apartheid envisage a group of distinct racial cultures continually enriching themselves and others by fruitful exchanges. In fact the purpose of legislation is to prevent this from happening. It is now against the law for a mixed (1) audience of whites and non-whites, even with segregated seating, to attend the ballet, the concert, the opera, the theatre, without a special permit from the governmental authorities.

Hardly a day passes without news that a permit for this or that event has been refused. The most recent example of this is the refusal to allow Africans to attend the quinquennial showing of the Oberammergau Passion Play in the city of Durban. The Government is prepared however to let the all-white cast present a separate performance for Africans, but it would almost certainly not be prepared to allow the producer of the play to use a non-white actor for the part of Simon of Cyrene. Nor can a coloured opera group use a white singer without permit.

It would be tiresome to retail the thousand-and-one permutations and combinations for which permits would be required. The whole thing is an

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

(1) The adjective "mixed" in this article, when used of teams, audiences, and other groups, means that white and non-white people are associated as co-players, co-performers, co-spectators, etc.

'Like walking blindfold through a minefield'

immense fatuity, irrational and derisible, with an element of cruelty that is inevitably present when one race group assumes the task of preserving the cultures of others.

The same fatuity characterises the Government attitude towards sport. Spectators in segregated seating may, if a permit is granted, witness cricket, soccer, rugby, football, tennis, and other games, but no mixed team can visit the country. Nor can any mixed team be formed in the country, except presumably to play on some private ground, nor can a team of one race play against a team of another race without a permit.

The reader must note, however, that this would not apply if the two mono-racial teams were both white; it is the element of colour that is the important consideration. It will therefore be seen that apartheid or separate development is not solely concerned with the preservation of cultural differences; it is equally concerned with the preservation of racial differences, and above all, of course, with the preservation of white racial purity, such as it is after a period of three centuries.

Again hardly a day passes without news that sports apartheid is being more and more rigidly enforced.

The South African golfer Mr. Papwa Sewgolum is of Indian descent, but he can no longer play in any open golf tournament. He can therefore no longer win prizes, and must rely on charity to enable him to golf abroad, for example, in Holland, of whose Open Tournament he has been the winner on two occasions.

The Government has already announced that if Mr. Basil D'Oliviera, a South African coloured man living in England, is selected to play for England in cricket in 1968, the team will not be allowed to enter South Africa.

As I write this, it has just been announced that Mr. Ronnie van der Walt, a leading South African boxer who has been fighting in "white" boxing for 12 years, has now been classified as a coloured man. When interviewed by newspaper men, he broke down and wept. His tears will bring no relief; the Government will go ahead with its task of creating a happy and harmonious community out of the unhappinesses of individual men and women.

The people who suffer most from these restrictions are those Africans, Indians, and Coloured people who are eager to enjoy and to learn more about Western music, ballet, theatre, and opera. Such people are incidentally characterized by their quiet behaviour. They do not go to concerts and plays to demonstrate, they go to hear and enjoy and learn. Their numbers are in general not great, so that they are unable to organize such occasions for themselves. In any event it appears to me impossible for any non-Westerner, except the most exceptional, to make much progress in the understanding of Western culture unless he is in touch with those who are part of it.

In 1948 apartheid, though it certainly existed, had not yet been translated

This sign at the entrance to St. George's Anglican Cathedral, Cape Town, was erected in 1957 when the South African Parliament, in session a few streets away, passed the Native Laws Amendment Act one clause of which forbids people of different races to worship together. This sign has since been replaced by a much larger one, stating the same message in English, Afrikaans and Hauser. **For an article on apartheid and the church, see page 33.**

Greatly against the desires of the parents, primary education is given in the vernacular, whereas parents want it in English. As the Unesco Report on Apartheid in South Africa states, this serves "to reinforce the linguistic, social and cultural isolation of the African population within the country as well as from the world at large." Left, a school in the Capetown area.

Photo © Francos - Holmes - Lebel

into the formidable body of law the making of which has occupied so much of the time and energy of successive Parliaments. Cultural contacts between and among South Africans of different races were steadily increasing. It would almost appear that South Africans were growing in cultural awareness of one another.

This tide has now been halted and is in fact receding. Yet one hears the preposterous suggestion that the children in rigidly segregated schools should be taught to appreciate and understand the children of other races. They are in fact to be taught to love others, while being strictly forbidden to play or eat or have any meaningful relationship with them.

Apartheid has a crippling effect on the art of writing. I give it as my considered opinion that any play or work of fiction which dealt with any racial topic or any act of injustice in a way uncongenial to the government, would today have little chance of passing the governmental organ known as the Publications Control Board, whose powers are very far-reaching. I add that such a work need not be brought before the Board, but that few publishers or producers would risk a ban after publication or production.

It could of course be said that the banning of publications has nothing to do with apartheid, but in fact the banning of publications is directed as much against books dealing with racial topics and injustices as it is against the flood of pornographic trash which would pour into the bookstalls.

The real purpose of publications control is shown by the attitude of censors towards "Selma", that distasteful tale of the freedom fighters in the Deep South. Any novel dealing with love or sex affairs between black and white (unless it does so with considerable restraint, as in my own novel "Too Late the Phalarope") would never be allowed to enter South Africa. But "Selma" was allowed to enter because it showed freedom fighters as unsavoury characters; who would want integration if these are the people who fight for it?

One must not think that apartheid and authoritarian control of thought and education are separate entities. They are one and the same thing. Without authoritarian control there could be no apartheid. Both of them powerfully influence the culture. Some years ago African education was largely in the hands of missionary bodies, who gave what one could generally describe as a liberal education. Today, with the exception of the Transkei, it is firmly in the hands of the Bantu Education Department.

Greatly against the desires of the parents, primary education is given in the vernacular, whereas parents want it to be in English. They believe, and university teachers confirm, that their children are retarded by one or two years by this vernacular teaching. What is more, they want their sons and daughters to be at home in the Western, or shall we call it the modern, world. They (though not often publicly) deride the idea that their culture must be preserved by others and say that they will preserve what they choose to.

There are already signs that the Government would like to exercise a tighter control over the education of white children also, which at the moment is controlled by the provincial administrations. Although white unity is thought to be necessary in the face of threats from within and without, Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking children are educated in separate schools. They may later co-operate in commerce, industry, and other spheres, but during their impressionable years they must be kept apart. The government has also given signs that it is preparing to exercise greater control over university affairs.

Finally, apartheid has had a calamitous effect on that part of culture which has to do with moral ideas. Here I shall confine myself to the moral ideas of the white population. Apartheid, because it has been elevated to the status of the supreme value, has wrought devastation amongst the other values. The rule of law is one of the outstanding casualties; people are banned, banished, and detained in solitary confinement for periods up to 180 days without any recourse to the courts of law. White South Africa, with laudable exceptions, accepts this procedure on the grounds that such people "must have been up to something"

Certainly the proposition that the end justifies the means is not now much debated. Such things as the rule of law, university autonomy, parental rights to choose the language in which children are educated, the freedom of the churches, have all suffered erosion. The value of any thought, any activity, is officially judged by one criterion and one alone—does it further or does it impede the cause of apartheid.

The Press, especially the English language, is under continuous fire. Although as yet no direct steps have been taken to curb it, the editing of a paper is, in the words of one of our leading editors, "like walking blindfold through a minefield".

Therefore although one of the main aims of apartheid is to develop the cultures separately, its effect is to ossify them separately, and to make them resistant to the entrance of new ideas. Whether the State will be in the long run successful in maintaining its hold on culture, or whether culture has some inherent and independent life of its own, remains to be seen.

One takes hope from the knowledge that there are South Africans of all races who reject apartheid as a gigantic self-deception, who reject what is called the "traditional way of life", who speak and write openly, and boldly present their ideas for the consideration and criticism of younger generations, though it may be dangerous for them to do so.

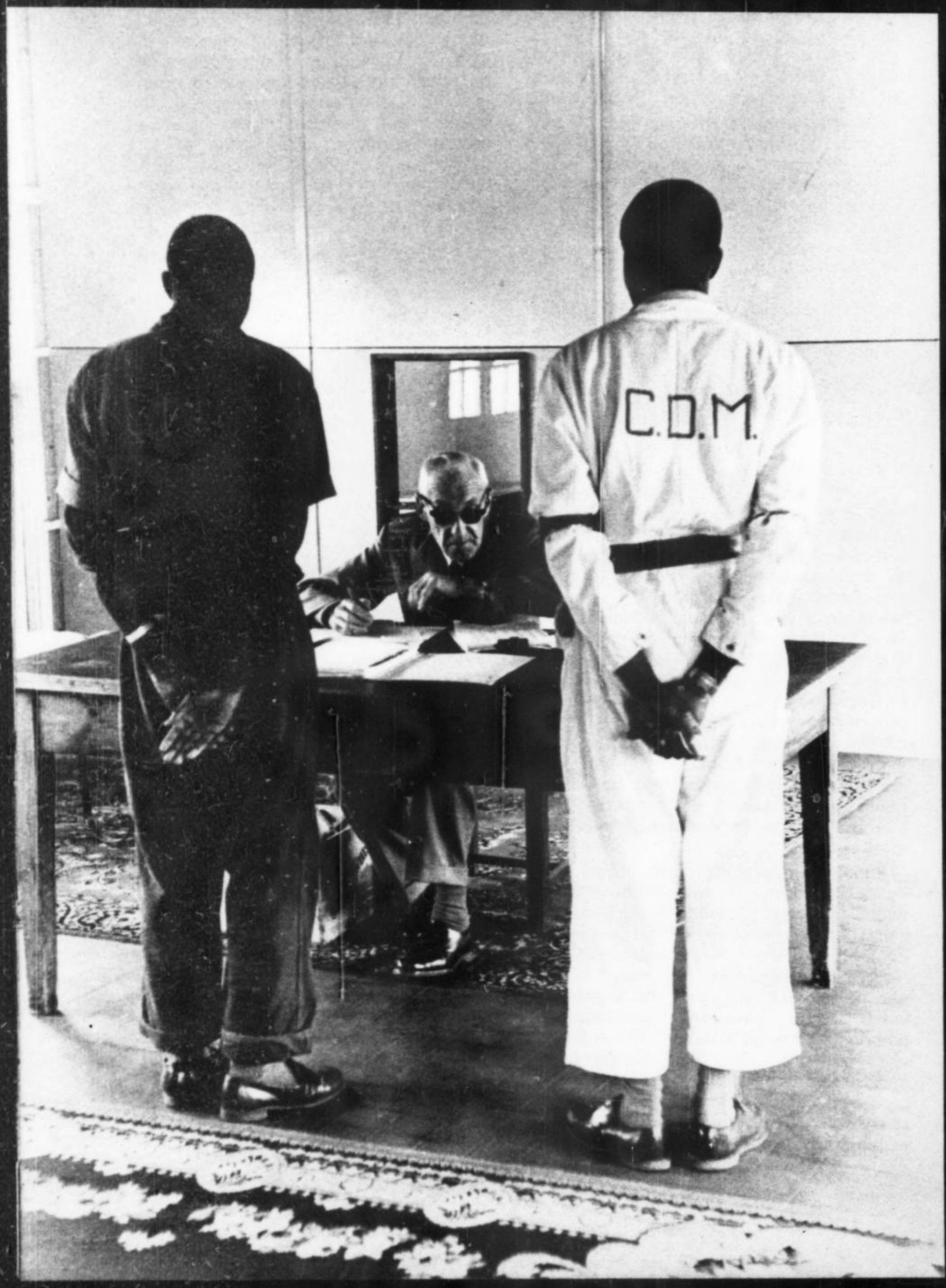
Nor should one overlook the fact that despite the laws and the conventions, and despite the attempt to preserve the separate racial cultures, a great deal of cultural assimilation has already taken place, and though attempts are made to reverse the process (as in making the vernacular the medium of school instruction), there are grounds for believing that they will not be successful. The forces that make for apartheid and those that make for assimilation will continue to fight each other, in a struggle that is as old as South Africa itself.

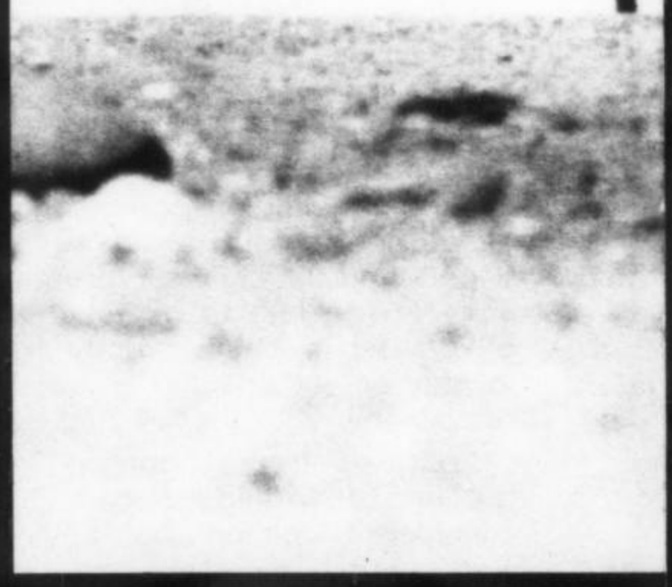
COLOUR MAKES THE JOB

During the past five years there are records of only three non-white engineering graduates from South African universities.

The Government may prohibit the replacement of employees of one race by those of another race, may reserve certain types of jobs to persons of a specific race. The Government in introducing this legislation indicated that it was intended to protect the "white" labour force against the infiltration of non-whites into skilled labour. The Trade Unions have become one of the strongest supporters of a job reservation policy, and its corollary "white supremacy", in the social and economic spheres.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid





By interfering with their freedom of movement and residence, says an International Labour Organisation report, South African law tends to compel non-whites to take up the least attractive jobs. Above, an African worker arrives at a diamond mine. South Africa is the second largest producer of diamonds in the world.

Only the whites are eligible for highly skilled work or executive positions. Left, an interview in the personnel bureau of a diamond mine.

Each evening (right), the miners hand in at a window the diamonds extracted during the day. Miners are stringently controlled to prevent the stones from being smuggled out. When their employment comes to an end, the miners are carefully searched. This man (far right) has been searched and is about to be X-rayed. Additionally, non-white workers are obliged to live within the actual area of the mine throughout their employment.

Photos © Ian Berry - Magnum

The forbidden dialogue

by Lewis Nkosi

THE profoundest, most compelling impulses of South African society have always been, and still are, toward amalgamation. This is perhaps the fact least frequently noted about South Africa even by those most opposed to the doctrine of apartheid; but it is a fact which I think ought to be set down straightaway not only because it is true and evidence can be adduced to support it, but because a great deal of the legislative programme of the Nationalist Party Government since 1949 cannot be properly understood without taking this fact into account.

It has also become fashionable in writing about South Africa to emphasize the incompatibility of black and white interests; yet left to their own devices the races have always tended to move closer, albeit unconsciously, toward some form of integration.

Surely the most glaring proof of this fact lies in the economic sphere; but less obvious is a similar impulse at work in the social sphere, which, however denied and deeply buried, continues to reaffirm itself and to agitate toward complete expression.

The very strong attempts to separate the races by legislation, by force if necessary, shows how strong this impulse is. And how natural. The State therefore feels compelled to utilise all its energies toward erecting barriers against the secret, often denied but natural tendency toward integration; and it is my view that such an occupation by the State is not only of doubtful value but that it is positively harmful to the cultural life of the country.

That the blacks suffer untold hardships as a price for the maintenance of the policy of apartheid is a fact that cannot be denied even by the proponents of apartheid. How often has one been told that a certain amount of hardship and injustice is inevitable during the transitional period leading to that perfect state of race separation in which all races will enjoy true well-being and in which they will experience deep spiritual and material satisfaction?

What is not always noted is that, though economically exploitative as a ruling class, the whites are also subject to certain very real deprivations as a result of their determination to live by a policy which would seem to all reasonable men not only unrealistic but insane.

To say the very least, South African whites are the most culturally deprived community in Africa. Emotionally they are just as stunted. White South Africans cannot express certain emotions which come naturally to most healthy people simply because the State has decided that the expression of such emotions is subversive of the very foundations of White Supremacy.

As a result they not only grow up denying their innermost dreams, they also learn to do without some of the best works of modern world culture (in literature, music, painting and intellectual discourse) either because such works are considered subversive or resuscitative of dreams that would be better left covered, or because traffic in culture with the outside world is rendered almost impossible by the maintenance of the policy of apartheid.

It must be remembered that a great number of people active in the cultural area are either non-white or white people strongly opposed to a doctrine of apartheid. Thus the white community in South Africa is becoming almost as isolated in its privileged position as are the blacks without privileges; for not only must the blacks not see Harry Belafonte with a white girl in his arms in "Island in the Sun" but the whites must not see Tony Curtis chained to Sidney Poitier in the film, "The Defiant Ones."

Indeed, a great number of modern works of the best kind in the post-war cinema are kept out of the Republic of South Africa. The banning of books and plays thought to be controversial is too well-known to need reiteration. Under these circumstances it would be surprising if the growth of an indigenous South African culture was not hampered and it would be surprising indeed if the fostering of standards on a par with the rest of the world was not rendered almost impossible.

However, let us take a closer look at the effects of apartheid on the growing indigenous culture in the country itself. I think I can write more effectively about an area in which I myself am interested. That area happens to be literature.

It seems to me that both black and white writers are severely impoverished by the limitations as well as the schism existing in South African national life, by a certain lack of shared assumptions or sense of common nationhood, fostered by the persistent and ruthless application of the policy of apartheid.

For a black writer too much of his emotional response is absorbed into formulating his attitude toward apartheid or finding his place in the revolutionary struggle; no matter where he goes later on and no matter how bored he is with politics he cannot be free of the tragic burden of South Africa until that country has freed its 14,000,000 non-whites.

Yet there are times when a writer must suspect that his revolt against the system is too easy, even glib, predetermined rather than arrived at out of a singular personal anguish; and

LEWIS NKOSI, *South African author and journalist, was born in 1936 in Durban where he was educated and later became an editorial writer on the Zulu-English newspaper "Ilanga Lase Natal" (Natal Sun). He then joined the editorial staff of "Drum" and of "Golden City Post" in Johannesburg. In 1960 he was exiled by the South African Government. In 1966 his collection of essays "Home and Exile" shared second prize with Ralph Ellison's "Shadow and Act" at the Dakar World Festival of the Negro Arts. He now lives in London where he is literary editor of "The New African".*

this revolt, so far as literature is concerned, must result in the formulation of characters who are not only glib and standardized but whose only claim upon our imagination is that they are caught in the apartheid mill. If we confess ourselves bored with them we then experience some guilt because we cannot be sure that we are not becoming unduly callous.

At the same time it seems to me that the blacks in South Africa, no matter how deprived economically or politically, have a graver, far more responsible attitude toward life. Where white South Africans must manufacture dreams and fantasies in order to maintain some equilibrium between what they really are and what they think they are, the blacks have to learn quite early to strip themselves of every illusion.

With the hindsight of modern psychology we all know what happens to people who cannot face up to the reality of their lives, who must live by evasions and fantasies; a greater burden is placed on writers or any other kind of artists who belong to such a community. Before they go on to create anything of value they must make an extraordinary effort to unlearn everything they have been taught.

To put it more simply, in South Africa, they must, for instance unlearn what they are taught in schools: that the whites, from their forefathers to the present generation, are all heroes, that the whites have the monopoly on moral wisdom and intellectual enterprise; the pain and the anguish which attends the creative efforts of Afrikaans writers at the moment is not a matter for cynical amusement. It is an agony of creative artists who must break through a sealed cocoon in order to see the world in its variousness or even to say something remotely relevant to their country.

Black writers do not have to make any comparable moral choice; they do not have to choose to oppose a system which is patently contrary to all observable reality; their colour makes the choice for them; what they have to do is learn to survive the system.

What they are prevented from doing by a combination of circumstances is exploring in depth that experience which goes deeper than the present apartheid setup, for there are times when an affirmation of certain traditional African values proves exasperatingly difficult for black writers since most of them are reacting to an ideology which asserts again and again that black and white people are irreconcilably different; that the African mind cannot grasp certain nuances of European thought; and, concluding from the foregoing, that apartheid is justifiable, indeed, the only realistic policy to follow.

The result has been that black intellectuals in South Africa have had to bend over backwards to prove that they cannot only master the modes of European thought but that they can beat the South African whites at their own game.

In the process they have neglected to examine those modes of thought or cultural expression which are indigenous and have sustained masses of their fellow Africans undergoing the process of urbanization. Consequently, urban African music seems to me to have provided the only example of what South Africa can offer culturally if she were left to develop in a natural direction.

Music, because it is non-literal, is not subject to the same limitations as literature; it is hardly banned; also it is less self-conscious in the modes it adopts to express the agony of the South African situation. The result has been that popular urban African music has provided a glaring paradigm of what is happening to the underground life of the nation.

The music is predominantly African, which is as it should be, considering the dominant numbers of Africans in the country; but it is also eclectic; it provides a moving illustration of cultural diffusion in that part of the continent which offers us the best laboratory for the marriage of African and European techniques and for the coming together of European and African modes of expression. Indeed, the phrase "popular music" is meaningless if used in the European sense of a music which offers us fantasies about life, for South African urban music is nearer to the blues.

While black literature from the Republic offers us glimpses into an appalling situation of rare brutality and anguish, the music not only shows us this but goes further to affirm what we should have known all along that the oppressed in South Africa also display an amazing form of resilience, emotional certitude and optimism. On the other hand, apartheid deprives white South Africans of any real participation in such robust forms of cultural expression.

In a short article of this nature one cannot enlarge too much on this theme but there is just one more disturbing aspect to the present cultural situation in South Africa which must be touched upon; and that is the fear of the written word as well as the brutality practised against it.

It seems to me impossible to discuss culture without discussing language; and language in the Repubilc of South Africa seems to be working under the severest of strains. There are totalitarian regimes in the world, of course, in which language is subverted, debased, and made to serve the interests of the regime by first

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being raped and then being asked to declare love for that which it loathes. George Orwell's essay on this subject and more recently George Steiner's writings on German literature are instructive.

White South Africans are prevented from "naming" those emotions which they may experience but which are not sanctioned by the State, or they are asked to give the opposite names to what they truly feel. This is clearly playing havoc with language, something which is the very essence of culture.

Consider, for example, what the South Africans mean by immorality. In South Africa a love affair between black and white is regarded as unnatural; therefore a law has been put on the Statute Book called "The Immorality Act" which has nothing to do with immoral acts as we understand them: it simply means black and white couples who feel love for one another, even if they wish to marry.

The legislation by which African students were deprived of university education in the so-called "white universities" is called "The Extension of University Education Act"; the act by which the movement of the Africans in urban areas was more rigidly controlled was called "Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act. "

I have to explain here that the Africans are compelled to carry identity documents called "passes" by which their movements are controlled; there have been more riots about "passes" in South Africa than about any other issue.

Therefore naming legislation which was to secure a far more rigid control of black people "Abolition of Passes" takes on a more sinister implication as soon as one remarks on that phrase "Co-ordination of documents" for indeed one begins to wonder what is being "co-ordinated" if the law requiring Africans to carry "passes" is being abolished.

This kind of abuse of language is only indicative of a certain malaise which is paralysing South African culture. It is also indicative of a malaise which compels the young, more experimental Afrikaans writers to search for a more poetic, transcendentalist, symbolic language in order to comment even remotely on the South African situation. Otherwise it is doubtful whether their writing, controlled as it is by the Afrikaans publishers, would ever see the light of day. In this respect both the literary pieces and the paintings of a young Afrikaans writer like Breyten Breytenbach become of the utmost significance (see p. 27).

Apartheid and the 'All Blacks'

A white team cannot compete against a non-white team, nor can a white sprinter run in the same race as a non-white sprinter. The Government's policy of apartheid applies not only to South African teams inside or outside South Africa but also to foreign teams visiting South Africa. The New Zealand "All Blacks" rugby team was due to visit South Africa in 1967. New Zealand proposed to include in its team two Maoris. But the Prime Minister of South Africa made a public statement: "Just as we respect other people's customs so we expect that when other countries visit us they will respect ours and that they adapt themselves to our customs." The "All Blacks" decided not to tour South Africa in 1967.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid

Photo © John Bulmer - Camera Press - Holmes Lebel

Sports stadiums in predominantly white areas may in general be used by whites only. Exceptionally, permission may be granted to non-whites to attend major events provided separate seating is made available. As far as minor events are concerned, coloureds and Asians may be admitted to grounds so situated that white residents are not disturbed. Above: an enthusiastic supporter at a rugby match.

DENNIS BRUTUS *is a South African writer banned from South Africa and now living in England. An outstanding sportsman (cricket, rugby, tennis, table tennis) he was founder and secretary of the South African Sport Association and President of the South African Non Racial Olympic Committee which, among other international demonstrations of opposition to apartheid, obtained the exclusion of South Africa from the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. His struggle against the apartheid policy led to his arrest on a number of occasions. A secondary languages teacher for 14 years, he was forbidden to teach in 1961. In 1962, publication of his literary work was prohibited. In 1964-65 he did 28 months hard labour after having been wounded by the police during his arrest. His volume of poems, "Sirens, Knuckles and Boots", won the Mbari prize for poetry in an all-Africa competition in 1962. He is 43.*

Photo © Sunday Times

THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON CULTURE

The seeds of wrath

by Dennis Brutus

THE world knows a great deal about apartheid. It knows it as a repressive political system which denies political representation to 14,000,000 South Africans because they are not white; it knows it as a divisive social system which keeps people **apart,** dividing them ruthlessly on rigid colour lines and punishing those who try to cross these lines. But the effects of apartheid in terms of social behaviour and on cultural development are less well known.

To understand the effects of apartheid it is necessary to think of the daily lives of the people and the ways in which their lives are regulated by apartheid—both in law and in social conventions.

It means standing for hours in a bus-queue, because there are too few buses specially set aside for black people; it means having to pass theatres and swimming pools with no thought of ever entering them, because they are set aside for white people; and because the restrictions extend to the thoughts people think, and because the laws apply to both black and white, it means that all people in South Africa are denied the right to read certain books because the government believes them to be subversive of its apartheid society.

Apartheid means that outstanding sportsmen like the cricketer Basil D'Oliviera, the footballer Steve Makone, the weightlifter Precious Mackenzie could never represent their own country because they were not white; that singers and actors like Miriam Makeba and Lionel Ngakane would be restricted because of their colour to appearing in certain places and before

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certain audiences—a coloured cast could perform Verdi's "La Traviata" but no non-whites could attend a performance before the State President.

The list of restrictions is endless—these are only a few small examples. But what they add up to is an isolation of the people—a division which breeds bitterness and hostility. At sports events, if white and black spectators are present, they support opposing sides and the result is friction—so much so that in many grounds only white spectators are allowed.

Small things show the effects of apartheid: When I tried to take my high school pupils to the theatre because "King Lear" which was their prescribed work was playing, they were turned back: when, as part of my studies, I tried myself to see an Afrikaans play, the ticket sold to me in error was taken from me and I was refused entry: often I have seen small children being chased away from the swings in the park playgrounds—their only offence was that they were black. And in the few churches which white and black can still attend together, the blacks kneel at the back, go to Communion after the whites.

It is illegal for white and black to play chess together—South Africa continues to be a member of the World Chess Federation in spite of this chess apartheid. And whites who tried to play football in a team with black members were prosecuted in the courts.

Of course white and black live in different areas and it is not difficult to pick out the houses for blacks—poor tin shacks, or at best, monotonous cubes of cement built by the council housing schemes.

And in a society where these ugly barriers exist, it is better to pretend that they are not there. The result is that the writers and poets of white South Africa are incapable of producing any work which truthfully reflects their society; and so deep has this kind of blindness entered that no work of any real worth has been produced in South Africa for many years.

Perhaps one might expect the writers among the blacks, in a situation full of tension and bitterness and pain, to produce works which live. But for them apartheid presents another problem; to be frank is to be banned. And so talented writers like Alex la Guma were silenced by banning orders, or others, like Alfred Hutchinson and Bloke Modisane fled the country to evade arrest. Some have faced greater tragedy; for Nat Nakasa the pledge he was required to sign—to leave his country and never return proved too much; he committed suicide in New York.

Even white writers—André Brink, for instance—who have dared to criticise, or appear to criticise, the apartheid society have suffered. Their works have been banned, or they have been savagely attacked by the official spokesmen of apartheid.

The failure of writers to write, or of people to understand each other—all these are indications of the deeper evil; the failure of communication. But what is little understood by the outside world is that this is a failure legislated for. It is a failure which has been deliberately designed.

It is the intention of those who have constructed the apartheid society, and who intend that it should endure indefinitely, that those who make up the society should be prevented from communicating with each other. Black and white must be cut off from each other, must be unable to communicate. It is on this division that apartheid rests. This is the true meaning of apartheid. And it is this that inflicts the true terrible wound on South African society.

BUT the real damage is in daily human relations. I have seen white children standing in one of the mixed buses rather than sit beside anyone who was not white and this seems to me so complete a rejection of another human person that it goes much further than the division and separation enjoined by law. From this kind of rejection comes a complete lack of any feeling of common humanity; the suffering of a human being ceases to be real because he has ceased to be a real human being.

In an atmosphere like this, it is easy for children at play to imagine themselves shooting a few blacks. It is equally easy for blacks to think of massacring whites in revenge for the many injustices they suffer.

This is the situation which has been created in South Africa today. The tensions are real, the threat of a violent eruption constant. And this must not be thought of simply as something which the politicians say, or which is the product of political factors or arguments. It is a simple truth that human relations between people have deteriorated so far, and have been so barricaded against by apartheid laws, that dialogue, understanding, friendship—all these are impossible.

This is the effect of apartheid in terms of the society—this is its all pervasive extent: it breeds, if it breeds anything, hostility: often the result is simply the bitter sterility which will engender violence.

THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON CULTURE

The dying minds

by Ronald Segal

Photo © Jonathan Cape Ltd., London

RONALD SEGAL, *author and journalist, was born in South Africa in 1932. After graduating from the University of Cape Town, he took a further degree at Cambridge, having previously played a leading part in South Arican student organizations. After a short stay in the United States where he had a fellowship at the University of Virgina, he returned to South Africa and established the quarterly "Africa South" which quickly became an international front against racism. Nine days after the Sharpeville shootings, Segal fled South Africa to escape arrest. He settled in England where he published "Africa South in Exile" until 1961 when he became editor of Penguin Books' African library. In 1963, he published his autobiography "Into Exile". The following year he convened in London the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa. His most recent book is "The Race War" (Jonathan Cape, London, 45/-).*

IT is piteous and appalling, the ecstasy in which all but a very few whites in South Africa pursue their own degradation. There are those among the victims of apartheid, white and non-white, who consummate themselves in their refusal to submit, discovering in resistance a courage and a loyalty and a love that seem the final meaning of humanity.

But inevitably apartheid degrades many of its victims. There are those who give way under torture by the political police, betraying their colleagues and so, desperately, themselves; there are those who take service with their own subjugation, as informers and police, or—like the docile chiefs—as administrative instruments, seeking sanctuary in a little power and a pretended indifference to contempt; and there are those, the still silent majority, who do not resist, and whose degradation is their own shame, the violence that they do, passively, to themselves. Yet these, the acquiescent, the betrayers, even the collaborationists, are the afflicted; and their awareness of affliction secures them from that other, deeper degradation, the atrophy of the mind.

For there are those who afflict and do not care, or deliberately cease to know any longer enough to care. In white South Africa the repugnant quickly becomes the ordinary; and the ordinary, the ignored. A new law yet further savaging the lives of the non-whites, in the cause of security or separate racial development, stirs a short rustle of consideration and then settles into the unnoticed natural way of life.

THE emaciation of white thought is everywhere evident. The organs of fundamental opposition have been suppressed or survive only underground. The English-language newspapers, once the source of a vociferous if superficial questioning, are now overwhelmingly subservient to the demands of white supremacy.

Where the persecution of a few bold journalists and the steady encroachments of censorship have not succeeded, the prosperity of racial repression has promoted an eager surrender. Indeed, like the official parliamentary opposition, the bulk of the English-language press has taken to attacking the government, when at all, for being too liberal and endangering white rule by bothering about separate development for non-whites. Criticism is safe only if it is directed at clearer, closer, still more certain domination.

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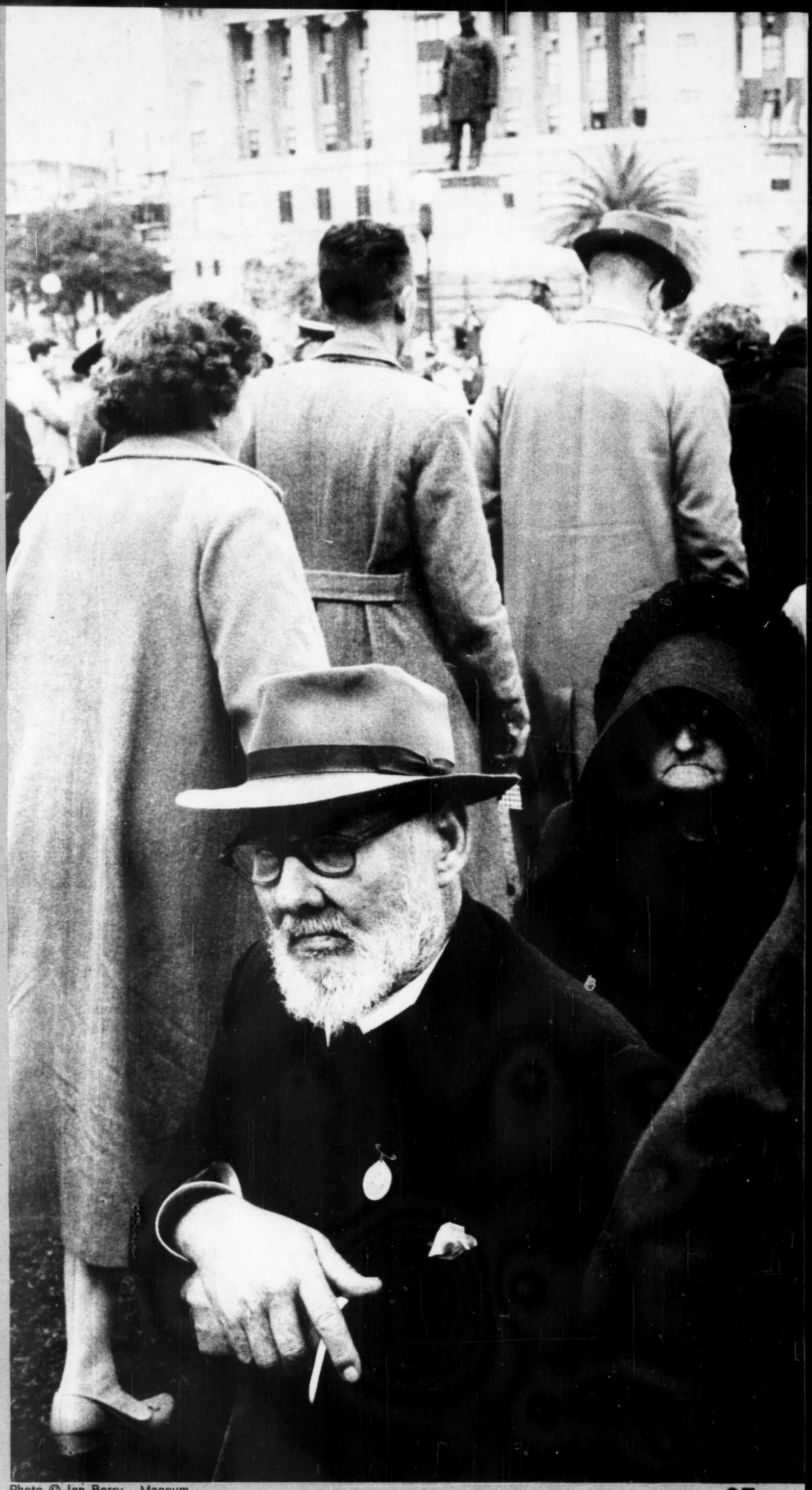

Photo © Ian Berry - Magnum

An old Afrikaner couple on May 31, 1961 when a republic was proclaimed and the Union of South Africa, which had left the Commonwealth two months earlier, became the Republic of South Africa. Such were the country's reactions to the many criticisms levelled by other Commonwealth states at its apartheid policy.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation engages in ever more extravagant propaganda, with programmes on the Communist Menace at home and abroad so contemptuous of reality that only minds wasted over the years can receive them without a sense of outrage. There is no television. The government long ago decided that television would require too many imported programmes for the security of white South African assumptions, and white South Africans have accepted, with a proper sense of proportion, the sacrifice required by the survival of their civilization.

The cinema is heavily censored, and films which reflect a racial impartiality are either banned altogether or so cut as to become incoherent—a drawback of apparently small consequence, since queues still form to see them.

THE English-language universities, especially the long unsegregated ones at Johannesburg and Cape Town, were once centres of intellectual restlessness and resistance. But the non-whites are being removed from the "open" universities to their own racial —and, for the Africans, separate tribal—institutions; the staff has been cowed by particular government intervention, like the expulsion of those named as Communists from teaching, and by the general intimidation of dissent; and the diminishing numbers of disquieted students, the more outspoken of their leaders selected for salutory persecution, satisfy themselves with the formality of increasingly meaningless protests or withdraw completely from public communication to find their way through underground passages of rebellion.

From the bookshops and the libraries, private as well as public, disappears an ever lengthening list of banned books, pamphlets and newspapers, published abroad or once upon a time legally in South Africa itself. Yet this is not sufficient to stop up the leaks of intellectual enquiry.

The government bans the more feared of its opponents not only from all gatherings, but from the publication of any statement anywhere in the country. How much further can fear of the single mind, of the individual struggle against the atrophy of thought, be taken?

The truth is that fear is far more profound within the white community than the non-white. The non-whites fear the whites; the whites fear not only the non-whites, but themselves. The Immorality Act has made sexual relations between white and non-white punishable by long imprisonment and, among whites, social horror. Yet the number of contraventions steadily mounts, with an embarrassing parade of such responsible whites as Dutch Reformed Church clergymen and police brought before the courts. There is fear at the consequences for even the pretence of white race purity in such flouting of the law, and deeper fear still at the consequences which might attend scrapping the law altogether.

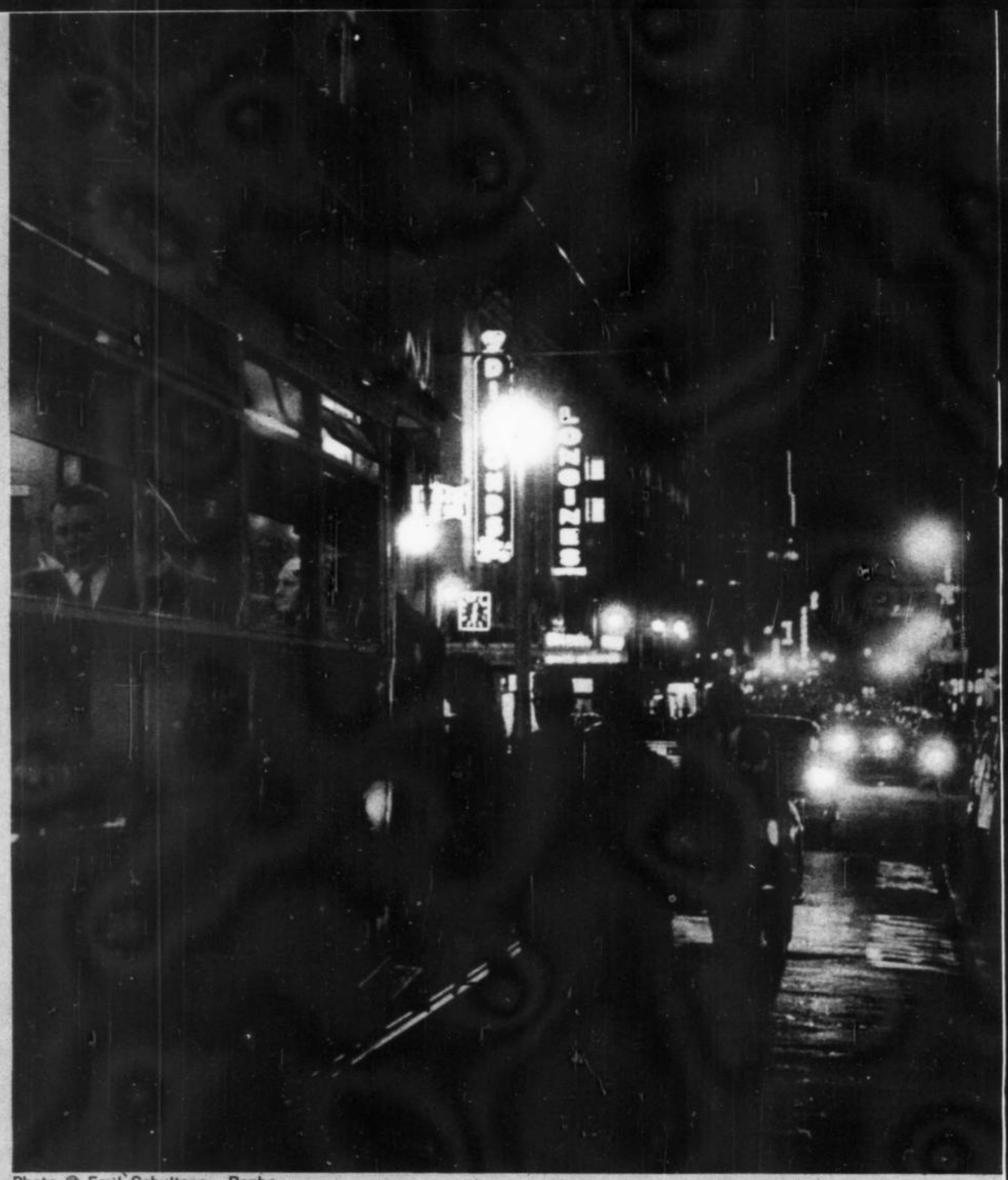

Photo © Emil Schultess - Rapho

A permanent curfew prohibits Africans from entering "white" urban districts between 11 p.m. and 5 a.m. unless they have the necessary passes. Above, a Johannesburg street.

And who is white? After more than 300 years of miscegenation, few families beyond first generation immigrants can feel confident of a completely colourless pedigree. The Population Registration Act provides all South Africans with compulsory racial classification and suitable identity cards so that, as the Minister of the Interior declared in 1958, "To many a certainty has been given that they never had before."

But fear is not removed by such official adjudication; if anything it is fortified. For now there are formal enquiries, with race tribunals, and whispers or unco-operative genes can soon enough cancel, beyond concealment, one classification for another.

Fear breeds, indeed, around the very source of protection against fear. Whites who indulge only their imagination by supposing themselves of interest to the political police, whose views are no less orthodox than the conventions of parliamentary opposition can comfortably contain, refuse to discuss politics on the telephone or admit any criticism of the government in private letters. The frenzy with which many whites pursue luxury and leisure—their obsession with sport is internationally remarked—cries out their fear of the risks in any interest demanding more of the mind.

The refusal to think at all offers itself as the one escape route from fear. For, surely, to think is to recognize the implications of racial repression, and to reject its capacity to survive in a sane world. And so white South Africans perpetuate their privileges by surrendering their minds, and in the name of civilization sacrifice civilization's essence.

What is left is fear and the appetite for domination, feeding insatiably upon each other. It is the gangrene of humanity, and its amputation is imperative if the sickness is not everywhere to spread. History belongs to the victims, for their human purpose is in their very suffering sustained.

The fettered spirit

by Breyten Breytenbach

"I want to express by means of the plague the suffocation from which we all suffered, and the atmosphere of menace and exile in which we all lived." (Albert Camus.)

THERE are certain concepts and principles which, in the Republic of South Africa, must be stated and restated until one is blue in the face. This is necessary because of the constant modification, erosion and exploitation these concepts undergo in the country at the present time. To the extent that leaders and members of the white community justify their laws and actions and aspirations in terms of the universally accepted *meanings* of these concepts and principles, the pretence must be shown up. One must apply this constant debunking to nearly every form of organized human activity: education, legality and the laws, politics, the racial concept, the right to work, trade unions, private and public business, travel, marriage and the free association of individuals, etc. And, of course, culture. And here, we touch not only upon the organized manifestation of culture, but also the right and freedom of the individual to create, to entertain or be entertained, to think, to express himself to laugh or to cry.

Photo © Jobst Grapour

BREYTEN BREYTENBACH *is an Afrikaner writer, poet and painter. He was born in 1939 in South Africa and studied art at the University of Cape Town. In 1960 he left South Africa and travelled around the world. He now lives and works in Paris as a painter. Exhibitions of his works have been held in several European countries and in the United States. A writer in Afrikaans, he is the author of several collections of poems and essays and a volume of short prose pieces entitled "Katastrofes".*

Culture, to me, is the uttering of a nation's dreams, hopes, fears, fantasies and desires. It is national insofar as the individual or group of individuals formulating and expressing these, belong to a nation sharing a common heritage, living in the same country, exploring a mutual present and moulding a brighter future. Culture is the way in which the members of a nation find themselves and their countrymen. It should never be a privilege—the free expression of culture through the visual and performing arts and literature, and politically free access to cultural manifestations should be a right never even questioned. This is patently not the case in South Africa.

Tribal white man has imposed a way of life on the nation which has reduced culture to folklore, or rather, has denied the progression from folklore to culture. Apartheid, which puts the accent on—and favours—that which distinguishes one group from another, inevitably means the glorification of the banal and the local as opposed to the original and the universal (or even merely national): handicrafts and postcards as opposed to sculpture and painting, the beating of the tom-toms as opposed to the discovery and enjoyment of richer musical forms, inferior journalism as opposed to creative writing.

Freedom is inseparable. There can be no rich cultural life when man can hardly aspire to the possibility of attaining political and economic freedom.

In which way does apartheid then destroy culture? It seems senseless to point to recent laws which, for example, prohibit racially mixed audiences or create a board of censorship so obviously politically motivated. Complaining about these is what I would term "giving battle", a token (or real) resistance to what is considered excessive—whereas the whole ideology underlying apartheid must be abolished before we can think in terms of culture, and therefore in terms of human dignity. Advocating the liberalization of a situation is another way of condoning the status quo. It is like treating the patient for bilharzia without purifying the water.

It is the basic ideology of the white people in power (and those they represent) as embodied in all the apartheid laws, which denies culture and human dignity—to *all* the people of South Africa, including themselves.

And this ideology is one of Christian-Nationalism or Calvinist-Tribalism by which one tribe is trying to perpetuate itself (according to the image it has of itself) by monopolizing all power and dictating to the other tribes their supposed lines and forms of cultural, political and economic development. This development must always exist in relation to the white man's central perpetuation of exclusive power. This tribe dictates to its own members in that it refuses any opposition to or questioning of its ideology of supremacy which may undermine the monolithic power structure.

APARTHEID stifles the cultural contributions of the black, brown and yellow man—but in its denial of morality, humanism and dignity, it is probably well on its way towards killing the contribution of the white man.

Other contributors will be able to show in greater detail how the apartheid laws prevent the growth of culture, or affect the existing culture. My intention is more general—to try and define this death for myself. Apartheid is the big effort to curb the forming of a South African nation—politically, economically, culturally and therefore also racially—which should be one of the most normal things on earth given our interdependence and

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A cultural and national death wish?

mutually hybrid origins. And culture and cultural exponents would have been the links. Now it has become futile to hope that one ethnic group may fertilize another, and the brittle contact established previously among writers, artists and musicians of the different groups is being dismantled progressively. It seems to be part of a general movement of contraction and falling apart—a cultural and national death wish.

At this stage of the contraction and the spasm we have influential cultural leaders of the Afrikaans community asking the Government to stop the flow of immigrants from non-Germanic countries (as they fear the extinction of Afrikaans culture) while launching a campaign to replace English by Afrikaans among the "Bantu."

We are going to have a new law—to be tabled during the present Parliamentary session—which is to seek the prohibition of one race "interfering" in the political affairs of another: the Prohibition of Improper Interference Bill. For political affairs read anything from social gatherings to plays or jam sessions or writers' discussions.

One would hardly have thought it necessary to pass new restrictive laws. It is estimated that 1,800 people were punished without trial for their political beliefs in recent years. At the moment, there are about 70 people under house arrest, 600 more are banned or restricted, another 40 are living in banishment in remote areas and over 2,000 people are in prison as 90 and 180-day detainees.

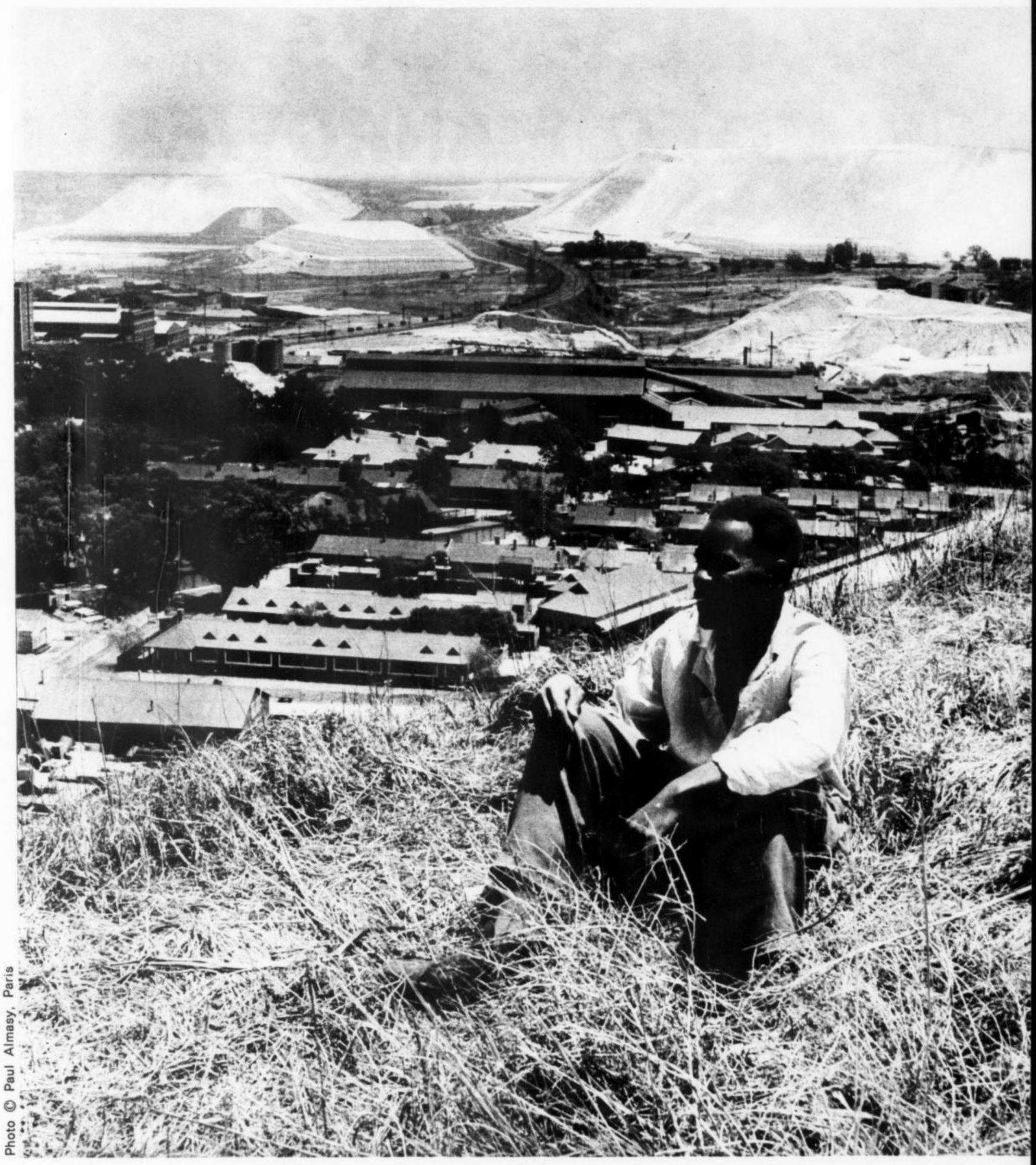
Every Government Gazette adds to the list of people whose creative works are no longer allowed in South Africa. *The Classic*, a literary quarterly had this to say in a recent issue: "Classic regrets... present rules that writers of the calibre of Ezekiel Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Can Themba, Todd Matshakiza, Bloke Modisane, can no longer be read in the magazine or country." There are many more.

It is not surprising. In the atmosphere engendered by these laws one can see how simple human acts or the description thereof can be given quite fantastic values, interpretations and implications. For a black man to kiss a white woman is revolutionary. If this act were to be described (enthusiastically!) by a writer in a book or on stage, or even shown by a painter, the life of the work would be endangered. And in this environment unfortunately a "literary" or "artistic" importance would be ascribed to this work far beyond the import of the simple description. The daring young man on the flying words.

And to the extent that culture must also be the expression of social ideas

The policy of the Government of South Africa is to reinforce tribal traditions so as to promote tribal nationalism as opposed to country-wide nationalism.

Photo © Paul Almasy, Paris



Trade unions set up by non-white workers are not legally recognized in South Africa. Non-whites are forbidden to strike in any circumstances and heavy penalties are imposed for failure to observe this law. In certain cases, according to an International Labour Organization report, strikes may be treated as "sabotage" which is punishable by hanging. Right, a Witwatersrand gold mine in the Transvaal.

Photo © Paul Almasy, Paris

and values, the writer, the artist and the musician must use it as such, and use it to fight for political freedom, for dignity and for justice. Man only lives in other men, he only expresses his dreams in *human* terms, his only real fear is of other men. It should be up to the individual to decide how much "message" or propaganda his work can carry, and in which form.

Already the final decay has set in in South Africa's cultural world. If the coloured people of Cape Town can no longer attend concerts in the now all-white City Hall, then music must eventually suffer. If our painters are relegated to painting esoteric pastoral scenes and "Bantu" motifs, then our paintings will be just decorations on the wall. If plays with a mixed cast can no longer be staged, then the spirit of the theatre must become atrophied. The non-white writer may, if he is lucky, leave the country for a bitter exile. If the white writer, to be able to continue writing, must compromise his humanism (his love)—for apartheid is practised also in his name—then the illness has touched and discoloured the very blood of his being, and his writing will be an aberration of European culture. Perhaps the fact that no Afrikaans writer has been banned yet, is a measure of this.

"And that is where the catch lies. Most white South Africans have simply never opened their eyes to the reality of there being other humans beside the whites in this country. They do not "do unto others," but unto an unidentified mass of Natives." — *Nat Nakasa.*

As long as we have apartheid—and the mutual fear, distrust and hate this inspires—it will be impossible for South Africa, or any of its ethnic groups, to develop a living culture.

SOUTH AFRICA'S WASTED MANPOWER

Every year since 1965 the International Labour Organization has carried out a survey of developments in connexion with the apartheid policy as it affects labour. The following text is condensed from the 1966 survey (1). Examining the economic consequences of racial discrimination in South Africa, the report notes that apartheid artificially obstructs the flow of potential skilled manpower which South Africa needs to a growing extent and that the Government seeks to keep this movement under control, even at the expense of greater prosperity.

SOUTH Africa is outstandingly rich in minerals. It has for generations been the world's chief producer of gold, output of which continues to rise. It is the second largest producer of diamonds, chrome and asbestos, has the world's largest known reserves of uranium, and vast reserves of iron and coal. It is also a large producer of copper, limestone and manganese. Agriculture, which with 30 per cent. of the economically active population at the time of the 1960 census employed more labour than any other sector, produces many and varied products both for internal consumption and export.

Manufacturing has experienced particularly rapid growth in the past 20 years, and now constitutes the largest sector of the economy in terms of output, accounting for a quarter of the national product. South Africa—which employs a higher proportion of its African population in the modern sector than any other African country—has the most developed and diversified economy in the entire continent.

These developments have materially affected the composition and utilization of South Africa's labour force, setting off trends which are a growing challenge to the purported objectives and basic policies of apartheid. Thus, instead of the separate development of at least Africans and Europeans in their own territories, economic development is drawing an ever greater number of the former into the white areas, creating a symbiotic relationship in which the African worker is becoming increasingly dependent on wage-earning in the white economy and at the same time ever more indispensable to it.

The increasing demands for skilled manpower and the insufficient supply of white labour to meet them are also opening up to the non-white populations rungs in the industrial ladder to which conventional as well as statutory colour bars previously denied them access, thus giving them a growing stake in the white economy.

The strained manpower position has likewise served to emphasize the economic wastefulness of the migratory labour system and the colour bar, which reduce the volume of productively employed African labour, perpetuate instability and low productivity and bar the way to utilization of vast potential sources of skill.

THE inflationary pressures in the South African economy have increased the urgency of making more rational use of the country's manpower resources. Unless opportunities for training of Africans are substantially increased and African education adapted accordingly, the depressive effect of apartheid on the quality of the labour force will become an ever greater drag on South Africa's industrial progress.

African manpower in the white economy is treated as an imported commodity,' as undifferentiated labour units deprived of ordinary human rights: the rights to free choice of employment, to security of residence and employment, to the development of inherent capacities, to a say in how the economy of which it forms an essential component should be run.

That is why the South African Government maintains its adherence to the migratory labour system, influx control, the colour bar and the denial of trade union rights to Africans. Whatever the new openings and material improvements which South Africa's spectacular development are bringing within the reach of its non-white population, the status reserved for African workers in an economy wedded to the principle of white domination is thus scarcely distinguishable from one of servile labour. The contradictions inherent in such a situation are pregnant with danger to the country's social peace.

The measure of bitterness engendered by apartheid is to be found in the repressive apparatus which has had to be built up concurrently with the progressive development of apartheid laws and practice in the social and economic spheres. Without attempting any exhaustive enumeration, it should be remembered that the repressive measures adopted include hangings, detention without trial, house arrest, and bannings of persons, organizations and publications. To maintain apartheid, South Africa is living in a permanent state of emergency.

Parallel with these internal difficulties, on the international level South Africa finds itself in a position of isolation in a world hostile to the course upon which it is set. The International Labour Organization is not the only organization from which it has withdrawn under the pressure of international opinion. South Africa left the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco) in 1955, and in 1964 it withdrew from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. It has been expelled from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and has resigned from the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa. Its participation in the Scientific Council of Africa has likewise ceased.

In the United Nations, South Afri-

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(1) Second Special Report of the Director-General on the application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of "Apartheid" of the Republic of South Africa, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1966. Price : 50 cents ; 3s. 6d.

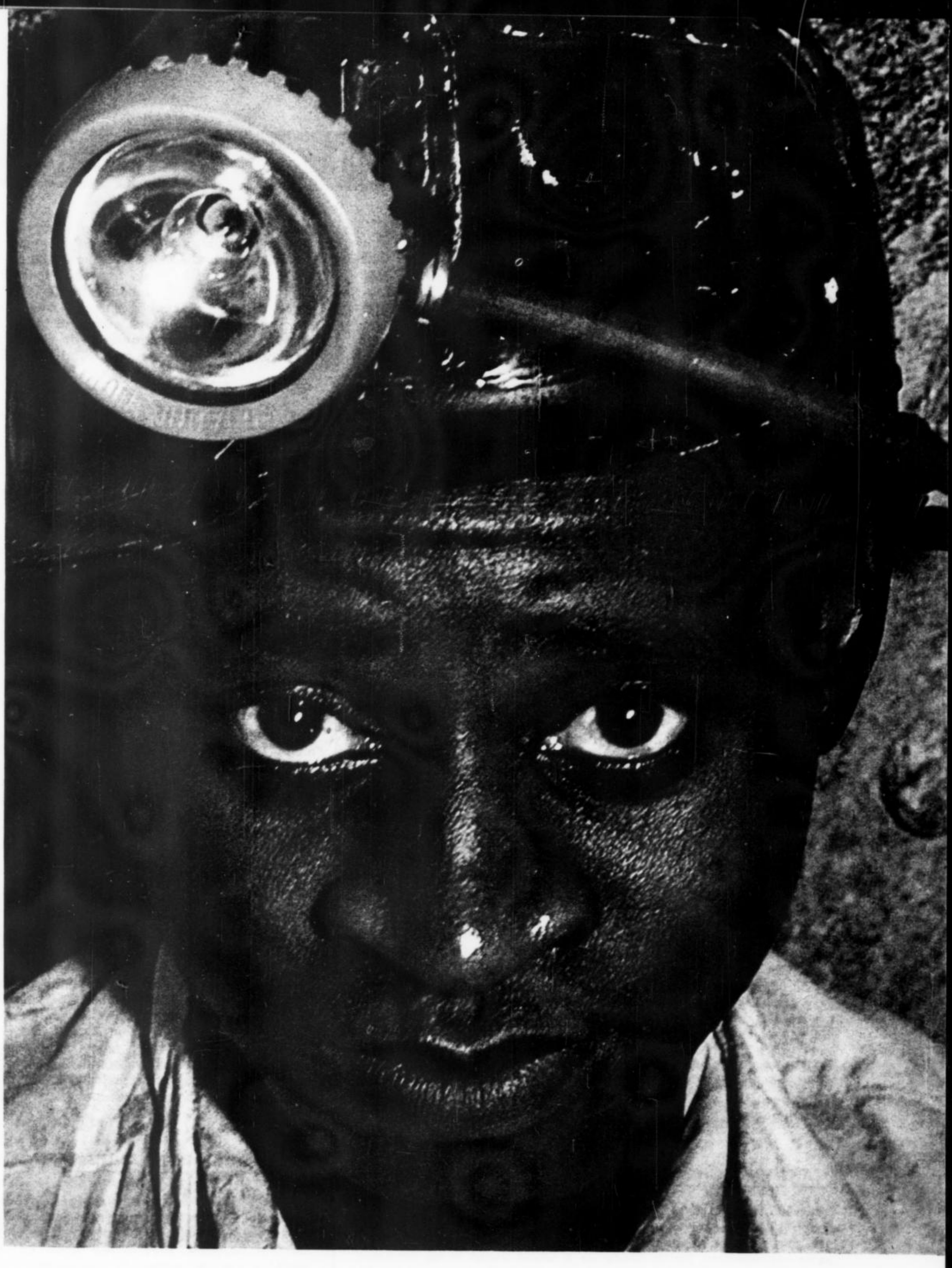

Photo © Emile Schultess - Rapho

In 1964, the apartheid rules were provisionally made more flexible so as to allocate African miners to certain supervisory tasks. In 1965, the Government terminated this experiment "in view of the detrimental implications involved". Yet the International Labour Organization's report stresses that South Africa continues to suffer from a serious shortage of skilled labour. The Government's economic development plan forecasts that in 1969 there will be a shortage of 47,000 white workers, but at the same time there will be 240,000 non-white unemployed.

ca's racial policies and consequential repressive measures have been under investigation by a special committee, and the whole pressure of world opinion has been brought to bear on the South African Government to abandon a policy held to constitute a threat to international peace and security.

Because of its tremendous wealth and developed institutions, South Africa could play a major part in promoting the progress of the African continent, through investments, trade and technical assistance. An extended market for South African goods would not only greatly strengthen the country's industry, but also bring immeasurable benefits to the entire Southern African region.

The educational system, now biased in favour of the white population, could help to spread literacy. The country could offer advanced technical knowledge and participate in fighting disease. However, the possibilities for all such developments must remain strictly limited so long as South Africa's present racial policies are pursued.

No country can easily bring itself to reconstruct the very bases of its body politic, particularly in relation to an issue so charged with passion as apartheid.

The choice lies between a stunted, frustrated, bitter and isolated society and a community built on purposeful, constructive co-operation both within the national borders and within the wider family of nations.

From the Unesco Report on Apartheid

Apartheid and African rights

During the reading of the 1964 Bantu Laws Amendment Act, a Nationalist Party member of the House of Assembly, Mr. Greyling, stated that "there is no such thing as 'the rights of a Bantu' in the White area. The only rights he has are those which he acquires by performing certain duties. Those duties which he performs give him the right of sojourn here. The officials in the labour bureaux, in considering whether they are going to allow a Bantu to remain here, will have to give priority to the consideration of whether that Bantu has carried out his duties as a worker, and not whether he has a supposed right which has been invented for him by members of the United Party."

Apartheid and international news

One of the South African Government's main aims is to see that international information is slanted so as to conform with its general policy and particularly its apartheid policy. Everything possible is done to prevent the introduction into the country of overseas information deemed "undesirable" from this angle.

Apartheid and films

Films for Africans are subject to strict censorship. Most countries have some sort of film censorship but in South Africa it is used as an instrument to further "separate development." The Censorship Board may prohibit the showing of films before a particular race or class. On many occasions it has decided that, while a film may be shown in a non-white cinema, children between 4 and 16 together with Africans may not be admitted. There is a tendency to ban any film which does not present non-whites as inferior to whites.

Apartheid and creative writing

Commenting on the situation of creative writers in South Africa, the exiled African author Ezekiel Mphahlele pointed out that, "Our energies go into this conflict to such an extent that we don't have much left for creative work. One might ask, 'Why could this not be a spur towards creative writing?' I think it is paralysing. . . We are in two ghettoes, two different streams, and you can't get really dynamic art in this kind of society. You won't get a great white novel, I think, and you won't get a great black novel until we become integrated. As soon as the white man has learned to realize that he is an African and no longer a European, he will then begin to write an African novel or an African poem."

Apartheid and sport

In 1963, the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) was reminded by the Minister of the Interior that participation in international sports competitions by mixed teams representing South Africa as a whole could in no circumstances be approved. South Africa was unable to take part in the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games.

The International Table Tennis Federation refused to recognize the all-white South African Table Tennis Association as the negotiating body for South Africa.

South Africa was asked to leave the International Football Association.

In sport, as in drama, as in entertainment, South Africa—black and white—is becoming increasingly isolated from the rest of the world.

Apartheid and libraries

In Durban there are 11 municipal library depots and one reference library for whites, one library for coloureds and one branch library for Africans. In the Orange Free State there is a free "whites only" library service and no similar service for Africans. The demand for books, moreover, is governed by the African's social and economic situation: he often grows up in a home where there are no books, he has little money to spend on them and he has had few opportunities to acquire a taste for reading. Regarding school libraries, the poverty of the book stock in non-white public libraries makes it impossible to supplement the inadequate book supply of the non-white school libraries. In 1959, of the films provided for library users, 2,319 films were screened for Europeans and 180 for non-Europeans.

Apartheid and social science

Social science field work in South Africa is greatly hampered by the apartheid policy. Permission to carry out research in a "Bantu Reserve" is essential and may be withdrawn at any time without any reason being given. . . Field workers have the impression that they are under continuous police surveillance and are permanently apprehensive that they may lose their permits to work in specific areas or, in the case of foreigners, their permits to remain in South Africa. Even more serious is the suspicion and hostility displayed by the people being studied. Even where there is no open hostility there may well be a reluctance to talk since any white investigator is regarded as likely to be a local official or a member of the special branch.

Apartheid and education

In 1965, the salaries paid to African teachers were less than half those earned by white teachers—41-9 per cent for men and 37.9 per cent for women. In 1965, the gap widened when white teachers salaries were raised. It is impossible to claim that separate development in education promotes good race relations. The inequalities inherent in the educational system would in themselves be damaging to racial harmony but one of the aims of the educational system set in policy statements by both the Government and influential groups in the white sectors of society is group nationalism.

Apartheid and the universities

The extension to higher education of the principle of separate development has had serious repercussions on the universities. In 1961 it was reported that 25 staff members from Cape Town had left, that Natal had lost 35 and that eight professorships, nine senior lectureships and nine lectureships were vacant at the University of the Witwatersrand. Some of the scientists who have left had played a major part in the intellectual life of the country. And losses have continued on a considerable scale.

Apartheid and beaches

Racial zoning has been extended to beaches and, in December 1965, the Minister for Planning announced that the beaches of the municipal areas should be allocated to different population groups. Certain beaches, traditionally used by non-whites, but situated opposite areas reserved for white residential districts, were henceforward to be used by whites only.

Apartheid and the theatre

In conjunction with the anti-apartheid movement, playwrights in Great Britain, U.S.A., France and Ireland have instructed their agents "to insert a clause in all future contracts automatically refusing performing rights in any theatre where discrimination is made among audiences on grounds of colour." The protest by foreign writers arose from their personal abhorrence of the evil of racism, but their action was based on the Berne Convention which gives artists and authors the legal right to authorize the publication and performance of their works. In 1965, South Africa passed a new Copyright Act, including a clause designed to prevent authors from prohibiting the performance of their works in South Africa on ideological grounds. . .

APARTHEID AND THE CHURCH

SEVENTY two per cent of all South Africans and 94 per cent of all white South Africans are Christians.

The doctrinal approach of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa to race relations was that the Dutch Reformed Church "could not associate itself unreservedly with the general cry for equality and unity in the world today . . . It is mostly a surrogate unity and brotherhood, that men seek to realize without Christ in a world disrupted by sin . . ." The unity of man already exists in Christ, and is a supernatural organic unity . . . One of the factors causing the imperfect realization of the existing unity in Christ is racial contrasts and racial tensions, in South Africa as in the rest of the world.

In April 1950 a conference of Dutch Reformed Churches was held at Bloemfontein to define the church's policy towards the African. Apartheid was defined as a way which seeks to lead each section of the people in the clearest and quickest way to its own destination under the gracious providence of God. The only way in which the permanent subordination of one group to another could be avoided was by total separation; the nature reserves were to be converted into true "Bantu Homelands" with full opportunity for development and self-government and the replacing of the African in the European industrial system.

After the riots at Sharpeville and Langa in March 1960, nine leading ministers of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk issued a statement, which, after protesting the "continuous besmirching of our country, people and church by untrue and slanted information," and declaring that the condemnations of South Africa "do not always spring from Christian responsibility but show signs of . . . the hysterical efforts of the West to overbid the East for the favour of the non-whites of Africa for the sake of the ideological slogan of self-determination," went on to say:

"The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk has made it clear . . . that it can approve of independent, distinctive development, provided that it is carried out in a just and honourable way, without impairing or offending human dignity. The Church has also accepted that this policy, especially in its initial stages, would necessarily cause a certain amount of disruption and personal hardship, for example, in connexion with the clearing of slums. The whole pass system must be seen in this light."

The nine ministers issuing this statement then approved of the principles of the policy of apartheid, but also called for an improvement of the wage structure for Africans, that non-whites be treated by whites in a more dignified manner so as not to reap a harvest of hate and that "responsible and law-abiding" non-whites should not be "misled by the false promises of agitators who are not concerned about the utmost good of the non-whites . . ."

In December 1960, as a result of an initiative on the part of the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town—who had publicly repudiated compulsory segregation—the World Council of Churches sent a six-man delegation to consult with representatives of its eight member churches (1) at the Cottesloe residence of the University of the Witwatersrand. Five of the churches sent inter-racial delegations.

Their report, known as the Cottesloe Consultation Report, stated that while being united in rejecting all unjust discrimination, widely divergent views were held on the basic issues of apartheid. Nevertheless it was possible to make certain affirmations concerning human needs and justice as they affected the races of South Africa:

No one who believed in Jesus Christ should be excluded from any Church on the grounds of colour or race; adequate facilities should be provided for non-white people to worship in urban areas as well as in segregated townships, there should be more effective consultation between the Government and the leaders accepted by the non-white people, there were no scriptural grounds for the prohibition of mixed marriages, although certain legal, social and cultural factors might make such marriages inadvisable.

It was pointed out that migrant labour had a disintegrating effect on African family life, that the vast majority of non-white people received wages which were below the generally accepted minimum standard for healthy living, that the job reservation system should give way to a more equitable method of employment, that the right to own land where one was domiciled and the right to participate in the government of the country was part of the dignity of all adult men.

Simultaneously, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Transvaal and the Cape issued another statement which said that a policy of differentiation could be defended from the Christian point of view and provided the only realistic solution to the problems of race relations. The Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk of Africa the next day issued a press statement, in which they dissociated themselves from the resolutions passed and reaffirmed their faith in racial separation in the belief that the ideals of Christianity would best be served in that way.

Opposition to the Cottesloe report continued to grow. During March 1961, the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk Synod met and decided by 487 votes to 13 to withdraw from membership of the World Council of Churches.

The Transvaal Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk meeting in April 1961 also decided to withdraw from membership of the World Council of Churches, since the Cottesloe resolutions were at variance with the policy of the Church and were embarrassing to the Government. In October the Cape Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Synod decided by a large majority to reject the Cottesloe report as "undermining the policy of separate development"; the Synod

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

(1) Church of the Province of S.A., the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Transvaal, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Congregational Union, the Bantu Presbyterian, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk of the Cape, the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk of Africa.

also decided to leave the World Council of Churches.

Individual members of the Dutch Reformed Churches continued to question South African racial attitudes. In November 1960, 11 leading theologians of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk published a book—"Vertraagde Aksie"—calling for a new outlook on South African racial attitudes.

This resulted in the heresy trial of Professor Geyser, one of the authors of the book, before the Synodical Commission of the Hervormde Kerk in December 1961; he was found guilty on one of three charges of heresy. He decided to contest the findings in the court of law, but an agreement was reached out of court (in 1963) and he was reinstated as a minister of the Church.

In August 1963, the Christian Institute of Southern Africa was established; it was inter-racial and inter-denominational. The Director of the Institute was the Rev. C.F. Beyers Naudé, who had been elected Moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod of the Nederduitse Kerk, had defended the Cottesloe resolutions and was editor of an inter-church monthly magazine *Pro Veritate*.

The Christian Institute came under attack from certain Dutch Reformed quarters. Prof. Verhoef of Stellenbosch for example, felt that members of the Christian Institute had made an error in judgement: the Institute gave the impression that it understood the problems and the aspirations of the Africans better than the "Boorekerk."

That apartheid is compatible with Christianity has been denied by many denominations in South Africa. The Methodist Conference in 1947 and 1948 stated clearly that every human being is entitled to fundamental human rights. In 1952 the Conference rejected the policy of apartheid as being impracticable, contrary to the interests of all sections of the South African community and inconsistent with the highest Christian principles. This was reaffirmed in 1957, in 1958, in 1959 and in 1960.

In 1960, the Conference outlined a programme of Education in Race Relations which included inter-racial study groups, pulpit exchanges and visits between church organizations. Moreover the possibility was to be explored of setting up a pilot city circuit scheme of a racially inclusive Church.

In 1961 the Conference resolved to proceed with the removal of racial demarcation from its official records and legislation. In 1963 the Conference elected an African, the Rev. Seth Mokitimi as its president.

The 1950 Provincial Synod of the Church of the Province of South Africa —a self-governing church within the worldwide Anglican communion (the supreme legislature body within the Church) made the following statement on race relations:

"The Conference is convinced that discrimination between men on grounds of race alone is inconsistent with the principles of Christ's Religion ... (we) believe that the effect of much recent legislation is likely to be the rigid division of the population into social classes with unequal rights, privileges and opportunities, and the relegation of the non-Europeans to a position of permanent inferiority, and for this reason condemns this legislation as inconsistent with the respect for human personality that should be characteristic of a Christian society ..."

Several Anglican clergymen have made individual statements against the policy of the South African government. Trevor Huddleston has protested particularly over the demolition of Sophia Town; the Rev. Ambrose Reeves has been outspoken in his opposition to the government's policy and was deported in September 1960; the Rev. Michael Scott was imprisoned for taking part in a non-violent campaign against segregation, left South Africa to take the case of South West Africa to the U.N. and has not been readmitted to South Africa.

In addition, in 1963 several Anglican Bishops in South Africa made statements condemning the apartheid policies of the government. In 1963 the Minister of Foreign Affairs was reported as having said at a Nationalist Party meeting that the time had come to tell the bishops that it was not in the interests of their Church to intervene in South Africa's political issues. The Synod of Bishops meeting in November 1963 issued this statement:

"In these circumstances, it seems necessary to the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, now meeting in Synod in Bloemfontein, to reaffirm their unanimity in proclaiming their conviction that the Church must openly and fearlessly condemn all that it believes to be evil and false in the social, political or economic life of any nation and, whenever the claims of obedience to the State and God are in conflict, it is to God that our obedience must be given."

In 1952, 1957, 1960 and 1962, the Catholic Bishops of Southern Africa issued joint pastoral letters on the situation in South Africa. In 1957 the pastoral letter entitled "Statement on Apartheid" condemned apartheid and went on to say: "there must be a gradual change ... but change must come, for otherwise our country faces a disastrous future ... This involves the elaboration of a sensible and just policy enabling any person, irrespective of race, to qualify, for the enjoyment of full civil rights ..."

The pastoral letter of 1962 was headed "We Dare Not Remain Silent" and said in part: "As Christian people we dare not remain silent and passive in the face of the injustices inflicted on members of the unprivileged racial groups ..." In July 1966 the Bishops again denounced apartheid and all forms of discrimination which it engenders.

Since apartheid, two great theological debates are being fought out in South Africa.

The first, illustrated by the position taken by the Bishops of the Church of the Province of South Africa, is an old one—the obedience which a Christian subject should give to a State which promulgates what he holds to be intolerably evil laws and the right of his leaders to criticize these laws.

The second theological debate is primarily a debate of this century, and in its acute form was initiated precisely by the system of apartheid in a country whose leaders were prominent Christians. It was the meaning to be given to racial equality and whether or not the doctrine of the brotherhood of all Christians pre-supposed a multiracial Church.

Within South Africa the lines drawn were principally between the Dutch Reformed Church, on the one hand, and the English speaking Church, on the other. But even within these groupings the argument continued. Geyser and Naudé and others within the Dutch Reformed Church took theological positions not unlike those of the Bishops of the English-speaking Church—and that in spite of the strong sanctions which could be imposed on them to conform to the main trend of thinking of the members of their congregations and of their Synods. Within the English-speaking Churches, too, there were some missionary leaders who advocated separatism for Africans.

This debate was not confined to South Africa, it was part of the worldwide ecumenical debate of the 1950s and 1960s, although certainly by 1965 the idea of a multi-racial church was accepted by most churches outside South Africa, and racial equality took on the meaning of multi-racialism, as opposed to racial separatism in the statements of major Christian religions. The Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa are being increasingly isolated, not only by the withdrawal of some of their groups from the World Council of Churches, but by their theological assumptions on the question of race.

This text is part of a chapter from the Unesco Report on Apartheid.

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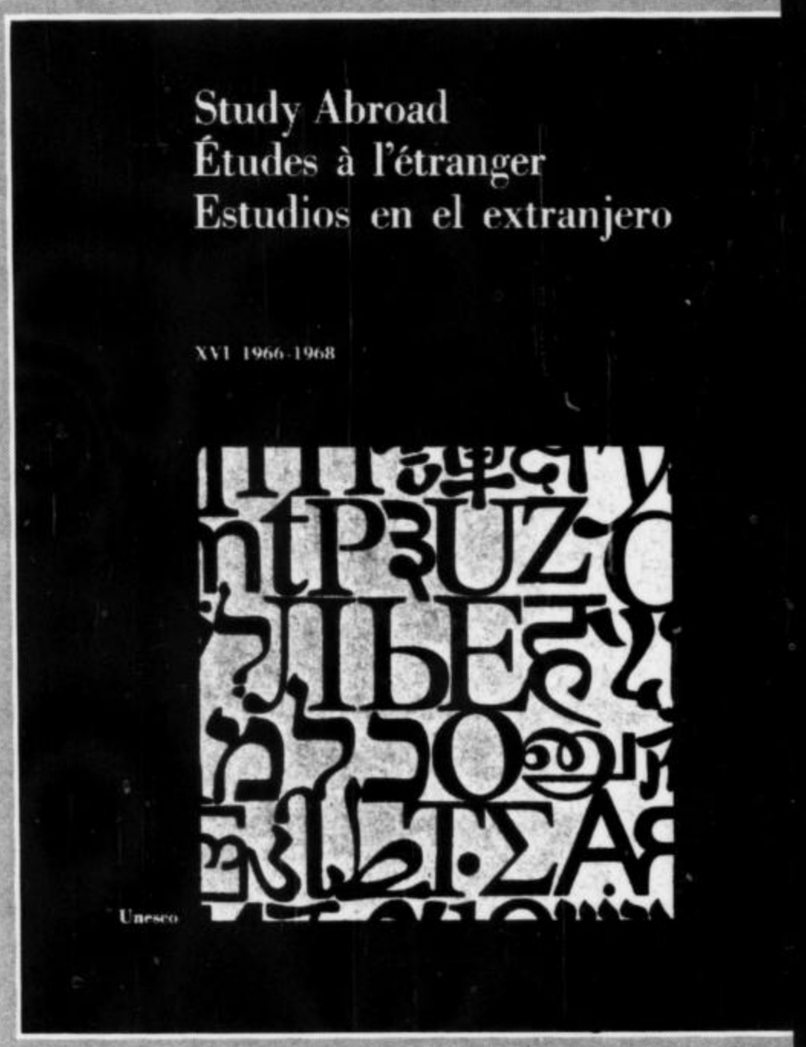

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